DISTINGUISHED IRISHMEN
OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

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DISTINGUISHED IRISHMEN

OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

First Series.

BY THE

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PREFACE.

"TRULY to the making of Irish history-books there at present appears to be no end. They owe their origin to the prevailing thirst for information on Irish matters, which it is to the interest of authors, publishers, and printers'-devils alike, to foster."[1] The *Irish Library*, published by Mr. Fisher Unwin, of London, the *Irish Home Library*, edited by Count Plunkett, the *Irish Literary Society* of London, the many historical works on Ireland which have recently appeared in the United Kingdom, America, Germany, and France, witness to an awakened interest in the history of Irishmen. Even Irish Catholics and Protestants begin to feel curiosity about the story of their native land; Irish youths are stimulated to the study of it by the Royal University of Ireland and the Board of Intermediate Education, and, it is to be expected, will come forth from that study "steeped in Irish memories, proud of Irish traditions, and panting with Irish hopes." Time was when it was con-

[1] *The Academy*, Jan. 14, 1888, p. 21.

sidered proper to hide away Irish history as unprofitable, unwholesome, and unpleasant reading. But that time is past, if we may so judge from the number of pens and brains that have of late been actively at work in the production of books on Irish history.

However, though to the writing of such works there appears to be no end, of books giving fresh and original information there appears to be no beginning.[1] At Father Clarke's suggestion, I published in *The Month* the following biographies and correspondence of memorable men, as a real contribution[2] to the story of a most eventful and instructive period. I have compiled them from the original letters of men who wrote of current events, as spectators and actors and sufferers in stirring times. They wrote, not indeed with a view to hand down historic facts to posterity, but to give their brethren on the Continent, and their Generals in Rome, an accurate account of what was going on at the moment in Ireland. This they were bound to do by the rules of their Order; and in doing so they give a minute and lifelike picture of the period, and present many aspects thereof which are lost sight of by historians. But above all they show the great vitality of the faith

[1] Except the works of Dr. J. T. Gilbert and of two or three others.

[2] That these papers are of real value appears from the many quotations given in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and Bellesheim's *History of the Church of Ireland.*

planted in Ireland by St. Patrick, and the heroic constancy of Irishmen. In presence of this phenomenon, Lord Macaulay confessed that on Protestant principles he could not explain the confidence with which Ireland in her weakness faced the foe, and how she always came off victorious. "But," he says, "if I were a Roman Catholic, I could easily account for the phenomena. If I were a Roman Catholic, I should content myself with saying that the mighty hand and outstretched arm had been put forth, according to promise, in the defence of the unchangeable Church; that He, Who in old times had turned into blessings the curses of Balaam and smote the forces of Sennacherib, had signally confounded the arts of heretic statesmen."

Having thoroughly familiarized myself with the materials already known, I feel that in the following pages I am travelling over much untrodden ground, and that therefore I am bound to mention the sources from which I have drawn my information. This I have done extensively in the footnotes throughout this book, and in my *Ibernia Ignatiana;* but the main sources were two volumes of original letters and other documents, written between the years 1575 and 1752, which I had printed verbatim as far as the year 1608 in the *Ibernia Ignatiana.* From these printed documents, and from my transcripts of the others down to the year of Father Holywood's death in 1626, I have translated whatever throws light on the

Jesuit Fathers, whose lives are recorded here, or on the history of Ireland in their times. I have endeavoured to be accurate. If I have failed in my endeavour, I beg my readers to attribute it in some measure to the fact, well known to Father Clarke, that I was very busy when he laid the heavy burden on me of compiling these biographies of long-forgotten Irishmen; and I beg of them also to write to me, if they should have any doubt concerning any passages of this book or of the *Ibernia Ignatiana*, and I will give them satisfactory evidence of the literal accuracy of the Latin texts and of the substantial accuracy of my translations.

I conclude by adding further evidence on two subjects touched on in this volume, that is, the Catholicity of William Bathe's father, and the dress of the Irish peasant. Chief Baron Bathe was said to have been a Protestant; and the "Irish churl," it is said, "went stark naked."[1] Firstly, W. Bathe's father is shown in this book to have been a Catholic, and this is corroborated by the fact that Holywood, his ward, was brought up a Catholic and sent to be educated on the Continent. A *fiant* of the 22nd of March, 1570, runs thus: "A grant to John Bathe of Drumcondraghe, Esq., of the wardship and marriage of Christopher, son and heir of Nicholas Holywood of Tartayne, Co. of Dublin, gent., fine, £40." Secondly, the Irish churl did not "commonly go stark naked." I showed

[1] See pp. 360, 190.

this at pp. 190—195, I now confirm it from the report of a Captain Cuellar of the Spanish Armada, who was wrecked on the north coast of Ireland, and spent over six months among "the wilde Irish." He says, "These wild Irish (whom he calls *salvajes*) live like brutes in the mountains in huts made of straw. The men are big-bodied, with handsome features and limbs, active and nimble as roe-deer. They eat but one meal a day, and that at night, their usual food is butter and oaten-bread, their drink is sour milk, having none other. They dress after their fashion with *tight hose* and *short coats* (sayas), made of very coarse goat's hair, *they cover themselves with cloaks*, and wear the hair down to the very eyes. They are great pedestrians, and very enduring with regard to fatigue. They sleep on the ground on freshly cut rushes, full of water and frost. Most of the women are very handsome, but ill-dressed, wearing only a chemise and a cloak that covers them entirely, and a linen cloth which they double closely about the head, tying it in front. They are very laborious and domestic after their fashion."[1]

In my sketch of Father Thomas White I omitted to mention that there is a portrait of him in the Irish College of Salamanca.

EDMUND HOGAN.

[1] Captain Cuellar's narrative, written in the year 1589, printed in *Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy*, 3rd Series, vol. iii. p. 208.

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I.

FATHER DAVID WOULFE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

IT is universally acknowledged that "in the sixth and seventh centuries Ireland reached a high degree of learning and culture which were diffused by her innumerable missionaries throughout all Europe."[1] But only those who are acquainted with the by-ways of Irish history are aware that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Ireland produced very many remarkable men of world-wide reputation. Perhaps, few Irishmen of our times know even the name of Father Richard Fleming, S.J., who was Chancellor of the University of Pont-à-Mousson, and for his extraordinary ability was selected by the Society to replace the celebrated Maldonatus, as professor of theology in the College of Clermont at Paris. Fewer still have heard of the four Waddings of Waterford, all men of distinction of the same period, of the same family and of the same Order, one of whom, Peter, was Chancellor of two German Universities at one and the same time. How many, save the erudite Bishop Reeves and Cardinal Moran, know anything of Stephen White,

[1] Words of Dr. Bellesheim in the *Literarische Rundschau*, November, 1889, column 333. See also THE MONTH, January, 1890, pp. 2, seq.

S.J., so much praised by Ussher and many other competent judges, and styled "Polyhistor," on account of the vastness of his erudition? It is time to put before our readers, on both sides of the Atlantic, sketches of these and other long-forgotten worthies, who by their talent, labours, and virtues shed lustre on the land of their birth. I propose first of all to write of the members of the Society of Jesus; afterwards I shall give biographies of laymen, learned bishops, priests, and members of religious orders, of one of which the Bollandist De Buck significantly says: "The Order of St. Francis has produced a great number of *savants* and historians; but has it produced historians more erudite than Wadding, Ward, Fleming, Colgan, and O'Sherrin, all of them Irish Franciscans?"[1]

One of the kindly influences under which Irish intellect and talent were allowed to develope themselves in the sixteenth century was the Apostolic charity of St. Ignatius of Loyola. In the year 1555 he wrote to Cardinal Pole: "There is in the German College one Englishman of good natural ability, and in our Roman College one Irishman of great promise. If your Eminence should think proper to send from those islands some talented youths to either of these Colleges, I entertain a hope that they could soon return home well equipped with learning and virtue, and with a supreme veneration for the Holy See. We have thought it our duty to make this proposal under the impulse of a great desire to be of service to the souls of those kingdoms—a desire which the

[1] *Archéologie Irlandaise*, p. 46.

Divine and Sovereign Charity has communicated to our heart." On the feast of St. Patrick, 1604, St. Ignatius' successor, Father General Aquaviva, expressed his wish, that "by all means Irishmen should be admitted into the Society, as they seem formed for our Institute by their humility, obedience, charity, and learning, in all which, according to the testimonies that come from all quarters, the Irish very much excel." Finally, in the year 1652, all the Fathers of the tenth General Congregation assembled at Rome unanimously decreed on the feast of St. Patrick, that every Province of the Society should undertake to have always one Irish Jesuit in training at its own expense for the distinguished Mission of Ireland.[1]

It is remarkable that the year, in which this kindlier influence radiated from the heart of St. Ignatius, was that in which war was first waged against the education of Irishmen. Father Fitz-Simon, S.J., in his Preface to his *Treatise on the Mass*, writes in the year 1611: "From about the

[1] Hogan's *Hibernia Ignatiana*, pp. 4, 5. The Latin originals run thus: "Est in Collegio Germanico unus Anglus indolis et ingenii boni et in Collegio nostro Hibernus magnæ spei unus. Si in rem futurum existimaverit Dominatio V. Rma. mittere istinc aliquos ingenio et natura factos ad literas ad utrumvis collegium, in spem venio brevi tempore eos regredi posse ingenti cum fructu vitæ et doctrinæ, et hujus Sanctæ Sedis summa cum veneratione. . . . Nostrum esse duximus id offerre, quod animo nostro injicit illa, quam Divina et Suprema Charitas nobis impertitur, cupiditas serviendi animabus istorum Regnorum." (S. Ignatii Epistola ad Card. Pole, Jan. 24, 1555.)

"Admitti Hibernos desiderat omnino Pater Generalis, quum ad institutum nostrum facti quodammodo videantur humilitate, obedientia, charitate et doctrinæ laude, quibus, omnium locorum testimonio, valde excellunt." (Epistola P. Assistentis Germaniæ in festo S. Patricii, 1604.) This extract is taken from Father Fitz-Simon's *Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, which is appended to the *Hiberniæ Vindiciæ*, a work attributed to Father FitzSimon, S.J.

year 1555, as is well known, these late heresies by force, never by voluntary allowance, oppressed religion in our country, *banished teachers, extinguished learning, exiled to foreign countries all instruction*, and forced our youth either at home to be ignorant, or abroad in poverty rather to glean ears of learning than with leisure to reap any abundance thereof. Yet such as travelled to foreign countries, notwithstanding all difficulties often attained to singular perfection and reputation of learning in sundry sciences, to principal titles of universities, to high prelacies, of whom some are yet living, some departed in peace. Seventeen years ago, Christopher Cusacke, a man of honourable descent and alliance with the noblest ranks, of great virtue, zeal, and singular sincerity, yet inexperienced in foreign countries, meanly languaged, and meanly furnished for a building to reach this height, began to assemble and maintain our young students in this place of Douay, wherein at this instant I am resident. It cannot be imagined how much since that time the obscurity of our nation's renown hath been diminished, and the glory thereof increased; how much the name of Ireland has become venerable, nay, admirable for peculiar towardness to learning, forwardness to virtue, modesty of conversation, facility to be governed, consent among themselves, and promptness to all that might be exacted, yea, or in reason expected, of any of most complete and conformable education or condition. Let none think that any partial affection has had place in this attestation, considering such to be the public and private letters patent and testimonies of princes,

prelates, universities, cities and colleges, extant to all men's view; so that little may rather seem affirmed than their desert duly declared. I omit to speak of other Irish seminaries in Spain of no less commendation, increase and account." In another book Father FitzSimon thus addresses his Father General, Aquaviva: "I proclaim that I am greatly indebted to you for the immense services rendered to myself and to my country. To us you have been not only a Father General, as you are to all the members of our Society, but you have wished to be our Father Assistant by the special care you have taken of us. With what solicitude have you not rescued us from the greatest difficulties! What shelter and comfort did you not afford us when we were abandoned on every side! With what an open heart you have admitted our candidates; at what expense have you not nursed our sick and infirm, with what wholesome advice you have cheered us while we were fighting the good fight! Under your auspices, in spite of a thousand obstacles, we possess in Spain alone three seminaries, from which the waters of the faith incessantly flow over to our kingdom and the neighbouring islands."[1]

I shall now proceed to lay before the reader some sketches of Irish Jesuits, who distinguished themselves in the first century of the Society of Jesus.

David Woulfe was received into the Society by its holy founder some time between the years 1541 and 1551. He was born in Limerick, about the

[1] Hogan's *Life and Letters of Henry FitzSimon*, pp. 68, 81. Dublin: Keating.

year 1520, in which city men of his name held the office of mayor in the sixteenth century, and from which, in 1594, "a hundred tall men went to ye North under the leadinge of David Woulfe, captaine," to fight for Elizabeth against the formidable O'Neills. Under the leading of David Woulfe, S.J., Ireland successfully resisted the inroads of the heresy of which Elizabeth was the head. He was, says Cardinal Moran, "one of the most remarkable men who, during the first years of Elizabeth's reign, laboured in our Irish Church to gather together the scattered stones of the sanctuary."[1] He spent seven years in Rome, where he became a professed Father. What work he was engaged in there I have not been able to ascertain; but before the year 1560 he had been long and much employed in "evangelical expeditions." In 1557 he was Rector of the College of Modena; in 1559 he was sent to the Valtelline to found a college there, and to perform other duties of the ministry. In 1560, Cardinal Morone, founder of the College of Modena, and Protector of Ireland, seeing that Elizabeth had declared herself in favour of the new heresy, thought it necessary that a pious and prudent man should be sent to Ireland to examine into the state of religion, to confirm laymen and ecclesiastics in the practice of piety and in obedience to the Holy See, and to preserve the Irish people in the profession of the true faith of their fathers. Father Woulfe was considered most fit for such a difficult task; he had all the necessary qualities, he knew his country and countrymen well, and had long practice and much experience

[1] Cardinal Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 77.

in evangelical expeditions.[1] He had already settled the affairs confided to him in the Valtelline, and with Father Possevino was engaged in useful labours at Fossano, when he was called to Rome. The Pope wished to consecrate him a bishop, and send him home with the full powers of an Apostolic Nuncio. But the General, Father Laynez, requested that as a member of the Society he should not be made a bishop, and he suggested that he could thus work more freely, and would give less umbrage to the enemies of the Catholic faith. The Pope consented, but gave him plenary powers, commissioned him to examine what sees were vacant, and to recommend to His Holiness proper persons to fill them. His Superiors charged him to visit the chief Catholics of the kingdom, and specially the four principal Princes, or Lords; to visit all the bishops and the parish priests; and even to risk his life, if necessary, in the discharge of his duties for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. He left Rome on the 11th of August, 1560, with another Irish Jesuit named Edmund. At Nantes he was taken for a Lutheran, and imprisoned and otherwise harassed for four days; at St. Malo, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his companion, he put his luggage on board a vessel, and journeyed on foot to Bordeaux, and thus his life was spared for the good of his country, as the ship with its crew and cargo was lost. Though dreadful storms were raging at that time and had wrecked many goodly vessels, in

[1] This would seem to convey that he had entered the Society before the date 1551, which we have gathered from the statement of Primate Creagh.

spite of the warnings of his friends he sailed from Bordeaux, and reached Cork on January 21, 1561, having been four months on his journey from Rome. When he had secretly made known the object of his mission, crowds of men and women came from all parts, even from a distance of sixty miles, to get his blessing and settle the affairs of their consciences. In accordance with the earnest wish of St. Ignatius, he selected and sent many Irish youths to Rome. In compliance with the mandate of the Pope, he sought out and recommended learned and pious priests to fill the vacant sees; and the names of Richard Creagh of Armagh, Donall MacCongail of Raphoe, Owen O'Hairt of Achonry, Morogh MacBriain of Emly, Conor O'Cervallain, and Nicholas Landes, not to mention others, are a guarantee of the fidelity with which he carried out the orders of the Holy See. He resided for the most part in his native diocese, yet visited Tirone, and Shân the Proud, Prince of Ulster, and traversed the various regions of Ulster and Connacht; but on account of the "wars," and the many dangers of falling into the hands of English agents and spies, he could not enter the precincts of the Pale, and accordingly, in 1561, he delegated his jurisdiction to Father Newman, of the archdiocese of Dublin.

In that very year, Father Woulfe's mission was mentioned by Elizabeth to the Pope's Ambassador as one of her reasons for not sending representatives to the Council of Trent. Her Majesty's priest-hunters were on his track, yet he managed to visit the great Irish lords, to ascertain whether the bishops resided in their dioceses and instructed their flocks,

to see how the clergy administered the sacraments, to guard the faithful against the contagion of heresy, and to bring heretical ministers back to the fold. He had been charged by the Pope to establish grammar schools, provide Catholic masters for them, and urge parents to send their children to be instructed in literature, and in the knowledge of the saving truths of faith; he was also, if possible, to establish monasteries, hospitals, and places of refuge for the poor, and he was ordered to acquaint the Holy See with the real state of the Irish Church. As Cardinal Moran writes, "the course traced out in these instructions was exactly pursued by Father Woulfe, and his letters clearly demonstrate how indefatigable he was in his labours, and how unceasingly he struggled to restore the Irish Church to its primitive comeliness and fervour."

The monastic schools had been swept away, and no mere Irishman or Catholic could, without risking liberty or life, teach the rudiments of literature or religion. To meet this want of intellectual culture, the Holy Father, in 1564, empowered Primate Creagh and David Woulfe to erect colleges throughout the kingdom, and to found a University like those of Paris and Louvain. For this purpose Dr. Creagh had petitioned the Holy See to send Jesuit Fathers into Ireland.[1] However, the Primate and Nuncio were not able to carry out the commands of the Pope, as the agents of England were in sharp pursuit of them. A priest-hunter, named Bird, wrote to Lord Burghley: "If

[1] Primate Creagh's letter from the Tower, quoted in Father FitzSimon's Preface to his work, *On the Masse.*

the surprising of Creagh and some other Romish Legates of the Irishry, with some English Jesuits[1] lately arrived, may be an inducement to Her Majesty's gracious favours, I shall shorten the number of these importunate members, by whom others of their sort may be disordered in England, passing and repassing to and fro." The Primate and Father Woulfe were captured and imprisoned in Dublin Castle in the year 1567. On the 13th of March of the following year, St. Pius the Fifth wrote to his Nuncio at Madrid: "We have been informed that Our venerable brother, the Archbishop of Armagh, who, as you are aware, is Primate of Ireland, has been cast into prison in the Tower of London, and that Our beloved son David, of the Society of Jesus, is also closely confined in the City of Dublin, and that both of them are treated with the utmost severity. Their sufferings overwhelm Us with affliction, on account of their singular merit and their zeal for the Catholic faith. . . . You will therefore use every endeavour with His Catholic Majesty, and urge and request and solicit in Our name letters from him to his Ambassador and to the Queen, to obtain the liberation of these prisoners."

The mediation of the King of Spain was without effect, as Dr. Creagh remained a prisoner for life, and Father Woulfe was confined in Dublin Castle for five years. A good deal has been said of the horrors of prison life in modern times; but what are they to life in the cells in which Dr. Creagh and Father Woulfe were buried? Father Houling,

[1] William Good, an English Jesuit, and Edmund O'Donnell, came to Ireland in 1564.

S.J., in his history of the Irish martyrs of his own time, says that Dr. Creagh was kept in a very dark underground cell of Dublin Castle, into which the light of the sun never penetrated, and in which he was not allowed the light of a candle. In a letter written by Dr. Creagh from the Tower "to the Right Honourable the Lords and others of the Queen's Majesty's Privy Council," he thus explains why he made his escape from the Dublin prison: "Which my going away I think no man would wonder that should know well how I was dealt therein withal; first in a *hole*, where without candle *there was no light in the world*, and with candle (when I had it) it was so filled with the smoke thereof (chiefly in summer), that, had there not been a little hole in ye next door to draw in breath with my mouth set upon it, I had been soon undone. My dwelling in this Tower the first time for more than a month's space might may-chance make a strong man to wish liberty, if for his life he could . . . but foregoing further rehearsal of *bearing almost these eight years irons*, with one of my legs (as the beholders can judge) lost by the same, of my manifold sickness, colics, . . . loss of all my big teeth, save two, and daily sore rheumes and many other like miseries." . . .

We are not aware that Father Woulfe suffered so much in health as his friend the Primate; but that his cell was not very comfortable we may gather from the fact, that when Bishop Thomas (Leverous of Kildare) had gained access to him, he could not stand the horrible stench of the place, and went away without being able to transact any business. We learn this from a letter written from

prison by David Woulfe, a copy of which was discovered by the learned Brother Foley, S.J., among the Roman transcripts of the Public Record Office.[1] Here are a few extracts from this interesting document: "James Fitzmaurice, of the House of Desmond, remains in this country and governs Munster in the fear of God. He is young, a good Catholic, and a valiant captain. He was desirous to enter a religious order, but was prevailed on to remain at home for the good of his native land. Donall Aenoc Senez (O'Connor Sligo?), a great friend of Father Woulfe, was received with much honour by the English Queen, and has returned to Dublin with great power, and has promised to use his influence with the Viceroy to procure Father Woulfe's liberation from prison. This Father has been visited in his cell by Bishop Thomas (Leverous of Kildare); but his lordship, not being able to bear the horrid stench of the place, was obliged to go away without transacting any business. The Primate is kept in irons in an underground, dark, and horrible prison, where no one is allowed to speak to him or to see him except his keeper. He has many sores on his body, and, although not over forty-four years of age, has lost all his teeth. He has been many times brought before the magistrates, but in spite of threats, torments, and promises of great honours and dignities, he 'looks on all things as filth, that he may gain Jesus Christ.' All men, and, most of all, his enemies, are much amazed at his extraordinary fortitude and constancy in the Catholic faith. From his boyhood he

[1] I have published the Italian text in *Hibernia Ignatiana*, pp. 18, 19.

has despised the pleasures of this world, and has treated his body with great penitential severity. Many things could be said of the integrity and holy life of this great man, but it is not convenient to write them at present: they will be told in their own place and time, as they cannot be concealed, since the Lord has manifested to the world a servant of His who possesses such eminent qualities. This holy prelate, in the presence of Father Woulfe and other persons, foretold to Shân O'Neill the circumstances of his death, specifying the year, month, place, and persons. O'Neill turned the nobles of Tirone against himself by his tyrannous conduct; he was defeated at Cumloch, where he lost six hundred men; on May 9, 1561, he was again vanquished by Hugh O'Donnell, while passing a river near Fearsidmor, where he lost eight thousand men and seventy-four of the noblest and bravest men of Tirone. He then took refuge among the heretics of Scotland, and was barbarously murdered by them. O'Donnell has ravaged the country of O'Connor Sligo, to punish him, whom he claims to be his vassal, for having gone over to the Court of the English Queen."

Father Woulfe escaped from his loathsome prison in the month of October, 1572, and, accompanied by Sir Rice Corbally and the son of James Fitzmaurice, took refuge in Spain; but before his departure he received the Protestant Bishop of Limerick into the true Church, as appears from a State Paper published some years ago by Lord Emly; it was discovered by Mr. Froude, and transcribed by Dr. Maziere Brady. It runs thus: "I, William Cahessy, priest, some time named

Bishop of the diocese of Limerick, yet nothing canonically consecrated, but by the schismatical authority of Edward, King of England, schismatically preferred to the bishopric of Limerick aforesaid, wherein I confess to have offended my Creator. I renounce also, if I might have the same, the bishopric of Limerick, and the charge and administration of the said cure; also other benefits and privileges received from the said Edward, or other heretics and schismatics. And I draw unto the said Holy and Universal Church, and do bow myself unto her laws, and I embrace the Reverend Lord David Woulfe, appointed the Apostolic Messenger for all Ireland from the Most Holy Lord the Pope. And I pray and beseech that, as a lost child, he receive me again into the bosom of the holy mother the Church, and that he will absolve me from all ecclesiastical sentences, censures, punishments, heresies, rules, and every blot, dispense with me and reconcile me again to the unity of the same Church."

According to a letter of the filibuster, Sir Peter Carew, to the Privy Council, and another letter in the State Paper Office, "Sir Davy Wolf, an arrant traitor, fled from Dublin, is gone to Spain, and carried with him the son of James Fitzmaurice, accompanied by Sir Rice Corbally." However, he soon returned to the former field of his labours, landed at Tarbert, and in 1575 was once more engaged in visiting and consoling the Catholics of Ireland. In that year his fellow-citizen and brother Jesuit, Edmund O'Donnell, was hanged, drawn, and quartered for the Faith. Father Woulfe was denied that great happiness, and from that year

he begins to fade away from our view. He was in Ireland in 1575, 1576, 1577, and 1578, in which year also he was at Lisbon and at Paris, and seems to have returned to his native land again, as Dr. Lynch, the author of *Cambrensis Eversus*,[1] says, "I have heard that Father Woulfe was a man of extraordinary piety, who fearlessly denounced crime whenever and wherever committed. When the whole country was embroiled in war, he took refuge in the Castle of Clonoan, on the borders of Clare and Galway; but when he heard that its occupants lived by plunder, he scrupled to take any nourishment from them, and soon after grew sick and died." He died, probably, at the end of 1578 or the beginning of 1579, as he is not mentioned in the detailed correspondence of 1579 or afterwards, during the eventful period of the second Desmond war. The last years of the life of this extraordinary man are involved in an obscurity which I tried to penetrate a quarter of a century ago, by consulting the original documents in Rome. I failed to get at them, on account of circumstances over which neither I nor any one else had control. What a chequered life was that of this most distinguished, perhaps, of all the citizens of Limerick! He first comes into view as Rector of the Jesuit College of Modena, he establishes a College in the Valtelline, declines the dignity of Bishop, and the pomp and circumstance of a *nunziatura*;[2] and through perils on sea and land, journeying through woods and bogs, in a loathsome prison, "through good and ill he was Ireland's still;" and amidst the

[1] *Cambr. Evers.* ii. 735.

[2] "Deprecatus utramque dignitatem." (*Hist. Societatis Jesu*, quoted at p. 11 of *Hibernia Ignatiana.*)

distracting political issues that tore Ireland piecemeal, he sought nothing but the good of his country, provided her with prelates of the most distinguished merit, and instructed and comforted her faithful people. His is a name of which the citizens of Limerick should be proud, and which the sea-divided Gael would not willingly let die. By Stanihurst, his contemporary, he is called a distinguished divine, and is by him classed among "the learned men and authors of Ireland." Of the Limerick Woulfes', who now "all, all are gone," one was bailiff of that city the year Father David went to reside there as Nuncio (as he is always styled by his friend, Primate Creagh); another was mayor in the year of Father David's death; a third, "David Wolfe, gentleman, black hair, middle stature," was transplanted by the Cromwellians in 1563; and another member of that stock was the famous General Wolfe, who died in the moment of victory at Quebec.

Of the partners of Father Woulfe's toil and sufferings in Ireland, it were ungrateful not to say a few words. His companion, Father Edmund O'Donnell, was born in Limerick, entered the Society of Jesus, and in 1575 was captured and imprisoned in his native city, and dragged in handcuffs to Cork, where, because (1) he persevered in the profession of Popery, and (2) had come to Ireland to preach and propagate Popish doctrines, and (3) obstinately refused to acknowledge the Queen of England as the head of the Anglican Church, he was hanged, disembowelled while still alive, and his body cut into quarters. On the vigil

of the feast of St. Patrick, he met his death with joy, and by word and example exhorted the citizens to persevere in the Catholic faith.

Another fellow-labourer of Father Woulfe's was Father Robert Rochfort, a native of the county of Wexford, who entered the Society in Rome, in the year 1564, and in 1567 went to Dilingen to study under the care of the Blessed Peter Canisius; he was teaching a school in Youghal in 1575, was professed of four vows, a gifted linguist, and according to his contemporary, Stanihurst, "a proper divine, an exact philosopher, and very good antiquary." Dr. Tanner, the Bishop of Cork, reports to the General of the Jesuits, that in 1577 "Father Charles Leae and Robert Rochfort are spreading the best odour of their Institute in Youghal, where they teach school, and with great industry train their scholars and the townspeople in the knowledge of the Christian doctrine, in the frequentation of the sacraments, and in the practice of solid virtue." Rochfort's zeal in instructing and comforting his countrymen is evidenced by the frequent mention of his name in the State Papers, and by the following significant facts. Matthew Lamport, a Waterford miller or baker, was tied to a horse's tail, and hanged, drawn, and quartered in 1581, because he had harboured the Baron of Baltinglass and Father Rochfort; Matthias Lamport, a parish priest of some place near Dublin, was hanged on July 1, 1581, for having often given shelter to Father Rochfort. On July 25, 1581, Robert Meiler, Edward Cheevers, Patrick Canavan, John O'Leary, and a sailor, whose name is not mentioned, all of

the town of Wexford, were there hanged, drawn and quartered, for having brought Father Rochfort from Belgium into Ireland. For harbouring Rochfort, Richard French, a Wexford priest, was taken prisoner, dragged handcuffed to Dublin, then was brought back to his native place, and died from the hardships of his journeys and the miseries of his prison cell. Regarding this memorable year also, we read in the State Papers: "Thirteen interrogatories to be administered to the Earl of Kildare; among other things, about a book from the Viscount Baltinglass, sent to him by Rochfort the priest." "The Countess of Kildare is to hear that Her Majesty is not ignorant of her harbouring Papists, and the open passage Rochfort had to Rathangan, where his books were left." On the 12th of November, Sir Geoffrey Fenton writes to Walsingham, "The Viscount Baltinglass and Rochfort have escaped." In July, 1582, the Government is informed that "Rochfort hath entered a house of Jesuits at Lisbon." In 1583, Walter Eustace is examined and says "he hath learned the doctrines he held from Dr. Tanner and Father Rochfort."

These details show how anxious English agents and spies were to lay hands on the zealous, indefatigable, and ubiquitous missionary. Had they succeeded in hunting him down, he would most probably have shared the fate of the martyr, Archbishop O'Hurley, unless indeed he had suffered the still more protracted tortures of a lingering death in some loathsome dungeon. Father Rochfort had been imprisoned some years previously; and as his presence was compromising the Catholics, and as a reward was

offered to any one who should bring in his head, he deemed it prudent to go to the Continent, where he continued to work for the good of his country. On the 20th of March, 1586, he wrote a long letter from the College of St. Anthony at Lisbon, to his *confrères* and colleagues, giving an account of the martyrdom of his intimate friend, Father Maurice Kinrechtin, a most pious priest, and chaplain of the Earl of Desmond; he ends with these words, "Farewell, and be ye, if it should be necessary, courageous imitators of Father Maurice Kinrechtin."

Father Rochfort laboured seven years in Lisbon to the great spiritual advantage of the Catholics of Ireland, England, and other nations, who came thither, and whom his skill in many languages enabled him to instruct and otherwise assist. After a life spent in many toils, dangers, and sufferings, he died at Lisbon on June 19, 1588. He is mentioned by Father Henry FitzSimon in a work published in 1611, as one of those Irishmen who "by their pains advanced the public good of their country, leaving their glorious memory in benediction, by whom our said country hath received many rare helps and supplies, especially in these latter days, to the great advancement of God's glory and the discomfiture of heretics."

Ten days after Father Rochfort's death, was hanged, drawn, and quartered his intimate friend, Maurice Eustace, Esq., of Castle Martin, co. of Kildare, of whom Father John Copinger, S.J., writes in his *Theatre of the Protestant and Catholic Religions*,[1] printed in 1620: "He was a Master of Arts

[1] A copy of this work is in Trinity College, Dublin.

and Novice of the Society of Jesus. Being sent for by his father into Bruges in Flanders, he came into Ireland (not without his Superiors' direction) to satisfy his father's will. Being so well descended, withal, it was apprehended that he would work much among the people. In the meantime (the Eustaces) Viscount Baltinglass and the Baron of Kilcullen were in open hostility, which aggravated the suspicion that he was accessory to them." Father Houling, S.J., in his history of the Irish Martyrs, tells that the judge, when sentencing him, said: "Out of your own mouth I judge you; for as you affirm you are a Jesuit, every prudent man will say you are guilty of the crime of which you are charged."[1]

Father Rochfort's fellow-labourer in Youghal was Father Charles Leac; he was born in the town of Cloyne, co. of Cork, in the year 1545; his father was Morris Leae, a doctor of medicine, and probably the same whom Stanihurst called "Leie a learned and expert physician." His mother's maiden name was Mary Sheehy or Hickey; he had studied literature from his early years, and was educated at Paris, Oxford, and Cologne. He became a Jesuit in Rome on June 24, 1570; in 1575 he came to Ireland with Bishop Tanner and Father Rochfort, and taught school, and preached at Youghal and in the surrounding districts up to the year 1579, when Dr. Tanner died, after having endured great sufferings in prison for eighteen months. Father Leae

[1] The story of his life and death is given by Houling, Rothe, Copinger, Bruodin, and in *Hib. Ignatiana*, pp. 30, 31.

remained in Ireland, and was captured and imprisoned, as we may gather from the following narrative, if we remember that an Irishman was very often called after his father's Christian name, and that Charles the son of Morris Leae would be named Charles McMorris. On the 4th of June, 1584, Diarmait O'Hurley, Archbishop of Cashel, was hanged in Dublin for the profession of the Faith. Some days before his execution, his feet and legs were forced into boots filled with oil and salt, and a fire was put under them. The oil heated by the flames, penetrating the soles and other parts, tortured him in an intolerable manner, and "his skin fell from the flesh and portions of the flesh from the bare bones." There happened to be then at Dublin a priest of the Society of Jesus, named Charles MacMorris, who had much experience in medicine and surgery, and who had been himself confined in prison by the English, but was released on account of the skill with which he had treated some noblemen who were dangerously ill. This Father visited the Archbishop and applied some remedies which gave him great relief. The hideous details of the roasting are confirmed by the State Papers, and must for ever brand with infamy the names of Loftus and Wallop. I lose sight of Father Leae after this; I know not whether he was able to remain in Ireland for some time going about under various disguises, and instructing and consoling the Catholics of that country, or whether he was driven away by the fury of persecution, and was sent by his Superiors to teach in the Continental Colleges—a task for which he was well fitted by his Uni-

versity training. He was certainly dead before the year 1609. I was fortunate enough to find the following entry, written by him in the Roman Novice Book on the 24th of June, 1570: "I was born in the town of Cloyne, diocese of Cork; my father and mother are dead; my father was Maurice Leae, a Doctor of Medicine, my mother's maiden name was Mary Chihi. From my earliest years I have devoted myself to learning; I have studied one year at Paris, then I went to the University of Oxford, and lastly I have read Logic and Philosophy during three years at Cologne, when I took the degree of Master of Logic and Philosophy. I promise to observe all the rules, constitutions, and mode of life of the Society, and to do whatever the Society shall order. In witness of which I subscribe this with my hand, CHARLES LEAE." In the same book I found these items: Charles Leae, an Irishman, made his first vows in the Professed House on January 17, 1571, on the 24th of June he went to the Roman College.

Of Father Leae's Bishop and Superior, Dr. Tanner, we learn that at the age of thirty-nine he entered the Society in Rome in 1565, studied in the Roman College in 1566, and with Father Rochfort was sent to the University of Dillingen in 1567, and became a Doctor of Divinity. As Father Copinger writes: "Through great sickness, not without the licence of his Superiors and the advice of physicians, he was enforced to come forth out of the Society." He was elected Bishop of Cork and Commissary Apostolic in 1574; was captured and imprisoned, and treated with great cruelty. "He suffered great penury and want as

well in prison as out of it," and died on the 4th of June, 1579.

It is painful and sickening to read the account of these twenty years of coercion, the foul and abominable black holes under ground; the roasting, hanging, disembowelling and quartering, and the gentle means by which the maternal ruler of that day tried "to dissolve the spell of Rome,"[1] and to woo and win the Irish to the doctrines of the Reformation. Let us turn away from the theatre of these horrid scenes to the calm retreat of Continental Colleges and Universities, and contemplate for awhile what Irishmen are doing there.

In the very year, 1584, when Fleming, Baron of Slane, first sheltered Dr. O'Hurley, and then, to save himself and his property, sought him out, captured and handed him over to the English, a namesake, and no doubt a near kinsman of his, Father Richard Fleming, S.J., became the first Chancellor of the University of Pont-à-Mousson in Lorraine. In the history of that University[2] we read: "Father Fleming was of a noble family in Ireland. The distinguished character of his countenance, of his whole person and of his manners, as well as the religious modesty of his bearing, made of him a remarkable man.[3] In addition to those exterior qualities, he had such a reputation

[1] Elizabeth's words in 1580 to Lord Arthur Grey de Wilton, in whose suite came Spencer the poet and Raleigh the soldier and philosopher.

[2] *Histoire de l'Université de Pont-à-Mousson*, p. 383. It was written by Father Abram, a celebrated Doctor of Divinity of that University, and published by Father Carayon, S.J.

[3] "La distinction de ses traits, celle de toute sa personne et de ses manières . . . en faisait un homme remarquable."

for learning that his Superiors considered him worthy to succeed the celebrated Maldonatus, and to uphold, together with Father Tyrie, the heritage of glory which that illustrious professor had bequeathed to the Society."

"During ten years he taught theology at the College of Clermont, Paris, with a success which always grew greater and greater. In 1584 he came to Pont-à-Mousson, where he was the first Jesuit that received the dignity and performed the functions of Chancellor of the University. He was also employed there for some time in teaching dogmatic theology and in solving cases of conscience. Some months before his death in 1590, certain propositions, published against the theologians of our Society by the Doctors of the University of Louvain, were sent to Pont-à-Mousson. These propositions, which had long ago been rejected by the Church, had just re-appeared under a new form, and under a great heap of words, in the writings of Cornelius Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres. Our Faculty of Theology, being consulted on these propositions, gave its opinion through Father Fleming. I do not believe I have ever seen anything more complete in this kind of composition—the penetration of the professor and the solidity of his doctrine reveal themselves there in all their *éclat.* This great theologian passed from this world on August 25, 1590, to enter, as we hope, the sojourn of the Saints. Some time after his death, Father Thomas Darbyshire, an English Jesuit commendable for his prudence, holiness, and spiritual insight, declared in presence of four of our Fathers, two of

whom are still living, that Father Fleming had appeared to him, and by his words had left in him a feeling of inexpressible joy." This fact shows at least that Father Fleming was held in high esteem by Father Darbyshire, to whom Ireland and the Society are indebted for the conversion of the celebrated "Harry FitzSimon," whose acquaintance we shall make further on. This Father Darbyshire was nephew of Dr. Bonner, Bishop of London; he was a D.C.L. and LL.D. of Oxford, Archdeacon of Essex, Canon of St. Paul's, Chancellor of the diocese of London, and Dean of St. Paul's. He was deprived of all at the accession of Elizabeth; was deputed to the Council of Trent by the English Catholics to procure a decision on the point then in controversy regarding attendance at Protestant churches, and he brought back the reply that to do so was a grievous sin. After having been imprisoned in London he entered the Society in Rome, and devoted himself to teaching the Catechism and delivering lectures on faith and morals, chiefly in Paris and at Pont-à-Mousson, where he died at the age of eighty-six.

Another very remarkable man, a Scotch Jesuit, named James Tyrie, Professor of Philosophy and Theology at Paris, and afterwards "Assistant of France," tells the following extraordinary story about his Irish *confrère*, Father Fleming, which is thus recorded in the *General History of the Society of Jesus*, year 1581: "Richard Fleming, an Irishman of our Society, and a priest of very remarkable virtue, was living in Paris in the year 1581. The day before the General was elected in Rome, Father Fleming

said to Father Tyrie in private, 'Father, do you know Claudio Aquaviva?' (Be it remarked that Richard had never seen him or even heard of his name.) 'I know him well,' said Father Tyrie; 'but why do you ask me that question?' 'I will tell you,' said he, 'for the glory of God. Last night I got out of bed to pray, and was recommending to God the success of the Congregation in Rome, when the Blessed Virgin (as I thought) brought me into the hall in which the Fathers were assembled for the election of our General. While standing there I saw the most Holy Mother of God take a certain young Father into the middle of the Assembly, and I heard her say to the Electors, *Choose Claudio Aquaviva as General.* The Fathers assented, and then the vision vanished.'"

After this brief allusion, Father Fleming, strange to say, vanishes from the General History of the Society, in which the course of many other lesser Irish lights has been carefully and minutely traced. If we look among Irish writers for any mention of his name and fame, we find only the two following references to him. Stanihurst, in his *Description of Ireland*, published in 1586, gives in the seventh chapter, "Ye names of ye Learned Men and Authors of Ireland," and he says: "There is a Fleming now living, of whom I hear great report to be an absolute divine and a professor thereof." Dr. Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, and one of the most learned sons of Ireland, who by their genius and virtue have shed lustre on the land of their birth, published *Hibernia Resurgens* in the year 1621. In it he writes: "Nine or ten years

ago, Father Henry FitzSimon, S.J., published an Alphabetical Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland, in which are given the feast-day of each Saint, a brief eulogium of him, and the sources where further information could be got. Though the edition is recent, the Catalogue is of an old date, and was the work of the Very Reverend Father Richard Fleming, Professor of Divinity in the University of Pont-à-Mousson. From this work was compiled a Litany of Irish Saints, which I have seen, and which was devoutly recited in Rome by Dr. Peter Lombard, Primate of all Ireland, when he was visiting the Holy Stations, attended by his friends, countrymen and servants. This Litany he was wont to recite every day at a fixed hour in a private oratory, together with the Most Noble Dynasts, the Earls of Tirone and Tirconnell."

The year 1590, given by the history of Pont-à-Mousson as the date of Fleming's death, is perhaps a misprint for 1596 or 1593, as a manuscript volume marked *Angliæ Historia* in the Jesuit archives in Rome mentions that the following Irish Fathers were living at Pont-à-Mousson in 1593: Richard Fleming, James Archer, Richard de la Field, and Christopher Holywood. From this we gather that "the great report" of Father Fleming's being "an absolute divine and professor thereof," attracted his countrymen to him, and that his influential position was used by him for the furtherance of Irish education and of the religious interests of his persecuted country. A seminary was opened there, and one of the earliest acts of Father Fleming as first Chancellor of Pont-à-

Mousson was, on October 26, 1584, to confer the degree of Bachelor of Divinity on that distinguished Englishman, William Gifford, who afterwards became Archbishop of Rheims.[1] It is a pity that his name is not found in the new *National Biography*, though he is far above the level of hundreds whose lives are given in that great work. When the Faculty of Theology and the whole University of Paris were waging war against the Jesuits,[2] and such a man as Maldonatus was about to retire from the storm which raged round his Chair of Divinity, the French Provincial, Claude Mathieu, wrote to his General on December 13, 1575, "Father Maldonatus wishes to go to Rome, if we had another theologian who could teach theology in his place." Father Fleming was selected to take his place, and, as he held it for nine or ten years in most dangerous times, and taught with an ever-increasing success, amidst the full blaze of Parisian party spirit, he must have been a man of great eloquence, courage, tact, and temper, as well as "an absolute divine." In this difficult position he was ably supported by Father Tyrie, a Scotch Jesuit, of whom the History of Pont-à-Mousson says, "The glory of his colleagues, Fathers Maldonatus, Mariana, Le Clerc, and Richard Fleming, did not eclipse the rare merit of Father Tyrie at the College of Clermont."

[1] *Histoire de Pont-à-Mousson* p. 199.
[2] See Bayle's *Historical Dictionary*, article "Maldonatus.

II.

FATHER JOHN HOWLING.

In the previous chapter the careers of the Nuncio and the Chancellor of a University have been briefly sketched. We will now turn our attention to less distinguished, though not less useful men, who were the first founders of the Irish Colleges of Lisbon and Salamanca, from which, as Father FitzSimon says, "the waters of the faith flowed over to our kingdom and the neighbouring islands."[1] These Colleges were established by the zeal of Father John Howling and Father Thomas White of the Society of Jesus. These men were not such great theological luminaries as Fleming, and have not figured so conspicuously before the learned world as Stephen White and others of the Irish Jesuits; but by their agency and influence they have proved greater centres of power, and have been more intimately connected with the educational and religious advance of Ireland, at a time when the old Celtic system of society was breaking up under the repeated blows of English power during the Fifteen Years' War, and when the old faith of the Irish people was seriously menaced by the inroads of a heresy which was backed up by the might of Great

[1] See p. 5, *supra*.

Britain. Though they were the originators of those Colleges, the rise of which is a momentous event in Irish history, yet so little has been known about them until very recently that the learned and laborious Dr. Oliver could barely tell us their names, and even he could scarcely do that with regard to one of them. He says in his *Collectanea*,[1] "John Olingo. This unaccountable name (Q. Lynch ?) is given by Father Matthias Tanner, p. 317, *Confessors of the Society of Jesus*, to an Irish Jesuit, who died a victim of charity in attending persons attacked with the plague at Lisbon in the month of January, 1599." Of Father White he says: "The only occasion that I find this Father mentioned is in a letter of August 22, 1607. He was then in Spain with Father James Archer. I come across him again six weeks later. Father FitzSimon in his Preface to his Treatise on the Mass, printed in 1611, mentions him." It is matter for surprise that a writer of Oliver's wonderful research could not tell more about those worthies; it is very much to be regretted that their names are not even mentioned in the various histories of Ireland, and that, notwithstanding their singular merit, the words of Holy Writ have not been verified in their regard: "The memory of them shall not depart away, and their name shall be in request from generation to generation."

John Howling (also spelt Houling or Hulin), was born in the town or county of Wexford in 1542, the year in which three of the companions of

[1] Or Collections towards Illustrating the Biography of the English, Scotch, and Irish Members of the Society of Jesus, editions of 1838 and 1845.

St. Ignatius came on a mission to Ireland. The date is given by Alegambe and Nadasi,[1] the birthplace is indicated by Father Copinger,[2] who says: "Father John Huling, naturall of Wexford, by his industrie and charitie did relieve a certeine number of Irish youths in Lisbonne, and in the time of ye plague in that citie sought licence of his superiors to serve in the hospital of the plague, whereof he died; which is a sufficient sign of his great charity."

According to Alegambe, who is copied by Nadasi, he spent "16 years" in religion, and died in 1599; he joined the Society in 1583. But I am inclined to think that 16 is a scribal or typographical error for 26, and that he entered the Novitiate in 1573. This will appear more than probable from his journeyings to and fro, and especially from his acquaintance with Father Yate, an English Jesuit who left Portugal for the Brazilian Mission in 1577. In the Record Office,[3] there are two intercepted letters written by Father Yate from Brazil, in 1593; in them he says that Father Howling had sent him news in 1591, and that he had answered the letter in that year; and that in 1592 he had written to Father Howling, from whom he had received two letters "that did greatly gladde him." This correspondence between men living so far asunder points to a previous acquaintance or intimate friendship, which seems to have grown up between the years 1575 and 1577, when Father

[1] Alegambe's *Heroes et Victimæ Charitatis e Soc. Jesu*, p. 108; Nadasi's *Annus Dierum Memorabilium*.

[2] In his Mnemosymom to Catholics, p. 268, Ed. 1608.

[3] Dom. Eliz. vol. 245, Nos. 32, 33. See *Records* and *Collectanea* of H. Foley, S.J.

Yate lived in Spain and Portugal. That Howling was in the Peninsula at that time seems certain on other grounds. He was at Alcala de Henares in 1577, where he then had the privilege of enjoying the friendship of Dr. William Walsh, the exiled Bishop of Meath, who had been imprisoned for thirteen years in an underground cell. In 1580 he was in Galicia, where he was the confessor of Miss Barnewall and her maid,[1] who had gone on a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella, to thank the Mother of God for protecting them from the greatest dangers. In the month of February, 1583, he was in Lisbon, where he was present at the death-bed of Nicholas Skerret, Archbishop of Tuam, who had been imprisoned, and then exiled, for the faith. Towards the end of that year he was in Rome, where he again met that heroic Irish lady, Miss Margery Barnewall, and became acquainted with the English Jesuit, Father Good, from whom he learned details of the capture of Primate Creagh. He had been in Dublin some time previously, and had met bishops, priests, and literary men at the hospitable house of Mrs. Ball, a remarkable Catholic lady, who brought these gentlemen into her house, chiefly in order that by their example, arguments and prayers, they might bring back her son to the Catholic faith. She also trained and taught her servant-men and servant-women in the doctrine and practices of that faith, and sent them to serve in the houses of divers gentlemen, where they won not only their fellow-servants, but also their masters and mistresses to the true religion. This worthy

[1] *Vide infra*, p. 37.

widow was twice flung into prison, the second time, indeed, by her dutiful son, who was Mayor of Dublin. She died in her prison cell in the year 1584.[1]

The year after that Howling met, perhaps in Ireland, and was well acquainted with, two gentlemen of Clonmel who had witnessed the capture and execution of the martyr, Father Kinrechtin. When Father Rochfort died at Lisbon in June, 1588, Howling was sent to take his place. By his zeal and his knowledge of many Northern languages, he was able to influence those foreigners whom he ardently desired to bring back to the Sacrament of Confession and to the profession of the true faith. He converted about one hundred and twenty Englishmen, and also some Irishmen who had abandoned the Catholic faith or neglected its practices.[2]

In the midst of his labours he did not neglect literary work; he found time about the year 1589 to write a most valuable biographical account of the Irish martyrs who were put to death between the years 1578 and 1588. It would cover fifty-two pages of this book; it is preserved in the Archives of the Irish College of Salamanca, and has been printed in the *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. i. pp. 82—109; it sketches briefly the life and death of eleven bishops, ten priests, thirty-three laymen, and two ladies, who suffered for the Faith.[3]

[1] *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, i. pp. 83, 109, 84, 109, 85, 91.

[2] Annals of the Portuguese Province, S.J.

[3] The title is: "Jesu + Maria. Perbreve Compendium in quo continentur nonnulli eorum, qui in Hybernia, regnante impia Regina Elizabeth, vincula, carceres, exilium, et martyrium perpessi sunt, compositum a P. Joanne Holingo, Hiberno, Societatis Jesu.

It is well penned, it is the very first contribution toward an Irish Martyrology, and entitles him to the grateful remembrance of his country.

Among other interesting stories told in it is the detailed history of Margery Barnewall that we have alluded to above. The narrative is so curious a one that we make no apology for inserting it here.

Margery Barnewall, a lady noble by birth, but more noble on account of her exalted virtue, had from her infancy consecrated her virginity to God. When about thirty-three years old, she had received from the hands of a certain Catholic Bishop the blessed veil with which it was the custom in Ireland to invest those who had become the spouses of Jesus Christ. Thenceforward all her time was spent among holy women, who like herself gave themselves up to prayer and to good works. Her manner of life was at length reported (in 1580) by a spy to the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, an apostate priest named Loftus, who had her arrested and imprisoned. When she had been in confinement for a few days, she was brought before the Archbishop who, after asking her name, age, and parentage, inquired as to the religion she professed. "I believe," she answered, "and profess the Catholic faith which the Holy Roman Church teaches, and in it I hope by God's help to die." On this the Archbishop ordered her to be led back to prison, where her constancy was put to the test by various trials and hardships. At length her friends bribed the gaoler to let her escape, and hurried her on board a French ship

that happened to be lying in the port of Dublin, with whose captain they arranged that he should land her at St. Malo's in Brittany. Margery sailed for St. Malo's with no companion save a little maid, and after a few days' voyage arrived one evening safely off the town. The captain and the greater part of the crew went ashore, leaving two or three sailors in charge of the ship, and promising to return in the morning to put his passengers ashore. During the night the sailors left on board attacked Margery and her maid, and cruelly beat them with ropes on account of their refusing to accede to their demands. But Margery, who had throughout trusted to the Holy Mother of God to keep her and her companion safe, taking occasion from the momentary absence of their assailants, seized a thick Irish rug and said to her maid: "My child, in the name of God, let us throw ourselves into the sea, for the Lord Jesus will certainly keep us safe, and will preserve us from the violence of these wicked men." Then arming themselves with the sign of the Cross, they threw the rug into the sea and jumped in upon it. By the wonderful power of God, the rug, spreading out upon the surface of the waves, supported both of them, and of its own accord carried them safely to the shore.

But when they had landed, the maid remembered that she had heard from the Captain how the city was guarded at night by fierce and large dogs, who attacked and devoured any whom they found outside the walls. "O my mother," she cried, "I am afraid of those dogs." "Cheer up, my child," Margery replied, "for He who has

preserved us from those wicked men, and brought us safe to land, both can and will save us from the dogs. If not, it is better to be eaten by dogs than to suffer violence from wicked men." As she said this the troop of dogs came rushing upon them. The poor little maid hid herself behind her mistress in terror, but Margery boldly faced the dogs until the first of them, who was the leader of the rest, came up to her and placed his front paw upon her shoulder as if about to seize her by the throat. Margery committed herself to God and repeated the verse, "Many dogs are come about me," and saying some words in Irish, began to pat his head and address him with friendly words. Instead of doing her any harm the dog at once left, and, barking and signalling to the other dogs, led the way slowly towards the gates; the whole pack followed, and when they reached the gates he lay down by the side of the two defenceless women, and remained there on guard until the citizens came in the morning to open the gates, when the two strangers were found unharmed. The people of St. Malo conducted them to the Bishop as beings altogether superhuman. But it happened that one of the citizens understood Irish and through him the whole story was told to the Bishop. The Bishop sent for the Captain of the ship that had brought them across, and the sailors who had attacked Margery and her maid, being brought before the magistrates and examined separately, acknowledged the truth of her story and declared themselves quite unable to explain how the two women could have reached the shore. The Bishop had the whole

story entered in the public records, and Margery and her maid were hospitably entertained for some months at St. Malo's. They subsequently went on pilgrimage, in token of their gratitude, to St. James of Compostella, and other pious places. The maid died a holy death in Spain, and Margery, after visiting Rome, returned to Ireland, where her example was the means of bringing many other maidens to consecrate themselves to God.

The concluding words of this document of Father Howling's lead us to consider the great work of his life, the establishment of the Irish College of Lisbon. He says: "Many of the clergy, and of the laity (both men and women) are still detained in the prisons of Dublin and other parts of Ireland on account of their adherence to their faith, and they are all ready to suffer everything for its sake. Many have gone beyond the sea, chiefly priests; and even boys have come away without saying good-bye to their friends, some of whom are only thirteen[1] or fourteen years old, preferring to preserve their faith abroad even in poverty, and without any certain human help, to living in comfort at home with their parents and friends, where the purity of their religion would be endangered." This gives us the key to the work of the last ten years of good Father Howling's career. His *confrère* and contemporary, Father Richard Conway, tells us that "the greatest injury the heretics have done, an injury attended with the

[1] Ross MacGeoghegan was one of this batch, and was thirteen years old when he went to Lisbon. He became a distinguished Dominican, and Bishop of Kildare.

most serious results, was the prohibition of all Catholic schools in our nation, which is naturally so inclined to learning. Their object was to sink our people in degradation and to fill the Universities of England with the children of those who could afford to pay for their education, and thus to make them more dependent on the heretics, and contaminated with their errors. They have, however, taken care that all children are taught English, and they chastise them if they speak their own native tongue."

"But the natives did not go to England; they preferred rather to remain in ignorance than to run the risk of becoming heretics; or they went secretly to many foreign parts, but particularly to Spain, where His Catholic Majesty protected them, gave them Colleges, and, by his example in allotting funds for the support of a certain number, encouraged his subjects to subscribe towards the good work, and placed these Colleges under the direction of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. The Irish youths came to those schools, though parents who send their sons abroad are exposed to the indignation of the Government, to the confiscation of their property, and to imprisonment.[1] These educational privations of Ireland are also set forth in a paper presented to the Holy See by the "Irish exiles everywhere dispersed."[2] They say: "Our country was once a school of religion and learning, to which very many foreigners came,

[1] A MS. of the Irish College of Salamanca, published by Dr. Macdonald in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 1874, pp. 206, 207.

[2] *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 35.

and from which many Irishmen went forth to propagate the light of the Gospel and of learning in other lands. This glory gradually faded away before the frequent and ferocious attacks of invaders, and through the intestine feuds of the native princes. When the English came, they abolished some trifling abuses, but they abolished education also. They forced the Irish to be ignorant, in order to compel them to be slaves. But within the last two or three years they have opened a College in Dublin in order that our youths may be instructed by English heretics. This new departure is most insidious and dangerous . . . and it is very much to be feared that heresy with all its machinery and appliances may draw Irishmen to itself, if they be deprived of teachers able to instruct in the Catholic faith. The fear of this great danger creates sadness and sorrow in our hearts and in the hearts of all prudent and thoughtful Irishmen, since we see that proper instructors are wanting." These exiles then ask the Holy Father to send them Irish Jesuits to educate their youth. Their wish was not carried out for a few years; but Father Howling and Father White, who saw the dangers that threatened the rising generation of Irishmen, founded Colleges where Irish boys found shelter and competent masters.

In 1593, Father Howling, who was noted as a man of most exemplary and holy life, was residing in the Professed House of the Society at Lisbon, and devoting himself to the spiritual and temporal welfare of his countrymen who went thither as exiles for the faith, or were brought as prisoners

captured by sea-rovers. Some ships from Ireland entered that port in the early part of the year 1593. Howling went at once to visit them and found a great number of Catholics, who under the stress of persecution had left their native land and the broad acres of their ancestors in order to preserve their faith, which was dearer to them than anything in the world. He welcomed these illustrious exiles, exhorted, instructed, and consoled them, and heard their confessions. One of these Irishmen, who was of distinguished birth and position, went through the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius in the house of the Jesuit Fathers, and at the end of it went barefoot on a pilgrimage to a shrine of the Blessed Virgin, which was situated twenty miles away on a rugged mountain. Father Howling's charity embraced not only his own countrymen, but also the English mariners and others who frequented that port. As he was an accomplished linguist, he spoke with sailors and passengers in their various tongues, won their hearts by his tact and genial manners, and converted fifty Protestant sailors and four captains. But what most excited his sympathy and inflamed his zeal was the sight of the very many youths who, leaving their parents, inheritance, and fatherland, had run away from the University of Dublin in order to preserve their religion. That University had formerly been founded by the Sovereign Pontiff, but had collapsed through the working of unfavourable circumstances. Elizabeth had recently restored it, with the view of making it a stronghold and arsenal of heresy, and she had invited parents, even Catholic parents, to send

their sons to be supported and educated *gratis* in that institution. The temptation proved too strong for the straitened circumstances of some fathers and the ambition of others, who in matters relating to faith were perfectly orthodox.

However, the Catholic youths were wiser in their generation than their fathers; they looked on the teachers as wolves sent to ravage the fold, and with a unanimous consent resolved to abandon that school of error. They escaped and landed at Lisbon, destitute of everything. The paternal and large-hearted care and solicitude of Father Howling enabled these wanderers and castaways to find even in exile a country, parents, and a home. He devoted all his thoughts, energies and influence to procure at once a fixed residence for them. He then collected money amongst the principal citizens, and built the Irish College of St. Patrick, Lisbon, the first Rector of which was Father Thomas White, of Clonmel,[1] and the first and best scholar of which was the celebrated Stephen White, the future "Polyhistor," who had been, I believe, one of the three first scholars of Trinity College, Dublin. It is with great truth that Father Henry FitzSimon says of this benefactor of Irish youth: "Father Howling by his pains advanced the public good of his country to his greatest power, leaving his memory in continual benediction, and that by him our said country hath received many rare helps and supplies, to the great advancement of God's glory and the discomfiture

[1] *Litt. Annuæ Prov. Lusitaniæ*, years 1593 and 1594; Franco's *Hist. Soc. Jesu in Lusitania;* Jouvancy's *Hist. Soc. Jesu;* Damianus, *Synopsis Hist. S.J.*; Alegambe; Nadasi.

of heretics." According to the *History of the Scientific Establishments of Portugal*,[1] John Orlingo was a Jesuit of great Catholic fervour, and, as it appears, of great resolution. He had grouped round him a number of Irish youths in 1592, and he had the College opened on the feast of St. Briget, February .1, 1593, under the title, "Collegio de Estudiantes Irlandezes sob a invocaçãon de S. Patricio em Lisboa."

It were ungrateful not to record here the name of a great and good Portuguese Jesuit, who gave him every help in his power, and who six years afterwards died at the same time and of the same plague as Father Howling. This was Father Pedro Fonseca, a man of great intellect, prudence, and piety. It was he who obtained from the Father-General some Irish Jesuits to attend to the spiritual wants of their countrymen at Lisbon. When the Irish reached Lisbon in poverty and almost shipwrecked, he helped and cheered them in every way, built a College and Seminary for them, prescribed their rule of life, got chosen competent men to provide for their wants and procure funds for their support;[2] and thus he shares with Father Howling the merit and honour and glory of founding an establishment which rendered such signal service to Ireland during the space of two hundred years.

For six years Father Howling continued to watch over the rising institution with fatherly

[1] By Robero, Tom. ii. pp. 91—95. "João Orlingo Irlandez, Jesuita de grande fervor Catolico, e, ao que parece, de grande resoluçãon."

[2] *Litt. Ann. Lusitaniæ S.J.* 1599.

care. He taught class in the College, provided for the educational wants of the inmates as well as for their temporal comfort, and (with the help, no doubt, of Father Fonseca) he got together a society of noblemen[1] who undertook to procure funds for the students.[2] But his cares were not confined to Lisbon. "He sent the Jubilee, granted by Pope Clement the Eighth, by a safe hand to the chiefs of the Irish Catholics, and he obtained from the Sovereign Pontiff the power of dispensing in matters reserved to the Holy See, which power was given to certain priests in Ireland, to the great comfort and advantage of the people."[3] He also sent to Ireland a copy of a letter of Cardinal Allen, conveying faculties to the Irish Bishops. At the end of this copy, which is in Trinity College,[4] he says: "I, John Oling, an Irishman, priest of the Society of Jesus, do certify that this is a true copy." In 1594 forty of the English and Irish nations were converted in Lisbon. We are told by Dr. Lombard, Primate of Armagh, and a contemporary of Father Howling, that the College of Lisbon was founded through the favour of Albert, Archduke of Austria, Viceroy of Portugal, and of other principal men in that city, and that, moreover, a church was erected and pious sodalities instituted there in honour of St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland.[5]

Cordara, in his *History of the Society*, under the year 1624, says that the College was founded and endowed for ever by Ferdinand de Ximenes, and

[1] "Societas Nobilium." [2] Damianus and Nadasi.
[3] *Litt. Ann. Lusitaniæ*, 1593. [4] MSS. E, 3, 8 (10).
[5] *De Hibernia Commentarius*, p. 137. (Edit. 1868.)

had always from its inception Irish Jesuits as Rectors. In 1613 Father Edward da Costa, a man of high nobility and of great wealth, who had entered the Society at the age of forty-two, died at the Irish College of Lisbon, to which he had contributed so much money that he was called its founder.[1] Harris says that "the College was founded in 1595 by Ximenes, a Spanish nobleman, who is buried there and a weekly Mass offered for his soul." "One Leigh, an Irish merchant, was a benefactor to it, and is interred in one of the chapels there."[2]

In the year 1611, "Margaret (of Austria) by the grace of God, Queen of the Spains, of the two Sicilies, and of Jerusalem," in writing to the Holy Father to recommend the foundation of an Irish College in Rome, says, "the King, my Lord, has founded three Irish Colleges in these kingdoms, at Salamanca, Lisbon, and Santiago."[3]

From these various statements I conclude that Father Howling, with the help of Father Fonseca, had the chief hand in its inception, and that the King of Spain, the Viceroy of Portugal, Ferdinand de Ximenez, Mr. Leigh, Edward da Costa, S.J., and others not mentioned, contributed generously towards the funds necessary for the building and working of the establishment.

As the records of the College are beyond my reach, I cannot place before the reader an account

[1] *Litt. Ann. Lusitaniæ*, 1613.

[2] Harris' *Ware*, vol. i. p. 257. Andersen, in his *Irish Natives*, copies Harris.

[3] Quoted in Dr. MacDonald's account of Santiago in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* of 1873, p. 173.

of the services rendered to Ireland by that institution; but I may enable him to form an idea of its results from some statistics relating to the kindred houses of Salamanca and Santiago. The former College, in the space of about one century, sent forth from its walls five hundred and ten Bishops and missionaries, among whom many were illustrious for their virtues, learning, controversial power, apostolic preaching, and the writing of learned works. Besides, one hundred and thirty became conspicuous members of different religious orders in Spain: three of the Order of St. Benet, one of whom became General of that Congregation; one of the Order of Trinitarians; twelve of the Cistercian Order; seventeen of the Order of St. Dominic; twenty of the Order of St. Augustin; twenty-six of the Order of St. Francis; and more than fifty of the Society of Jesus. It has yielded twelve or more Provincials to these orders; and to the Church of Ireland it has given one Primate, four Archbishops, five Bishops, two Protonotaries Apostolic, five Vicars-General, eighteen graduates of theology in the most celebrated Universities of Europe, and more than thirty Masters of Theology and Sacred Scriptures, who were famed as professors in those great theatres of learning.[1] The College of Santiago "gave, in the space of one hundred and ten years, six martyrs, two Primates of Ireland, nine Archbishops, seventeen Bishops, four hundred evangelical labourers, ninety Jesuit apostolic labourers,

[1] Paper presented to the King of Spain in 1709 by the Irish Jesuit Delamar, printed in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 1874, p. 1.

and forty-three members of other orders, who were renowned for their virtue and learned works."[1]

With the hope that some Irish priest at Lisbon will examine the archives of that city, and publish the history of this College, I now pass on to describe the last days of its founder and father. As Lisbon was inhabited not only by Portuguese, but also inhabited and frequented by Spaniards, Italians, Belgians, Germans, French, and Irishmen, Jesuits of these various nations were in residence there. The plague broke out in October, 1599; our Fathers went through the city and suburbs to hear the confessions of the plague-stricken, who were hiding lest they should be taken to the public hospital. There were two thousand patients in the hospital. The nobles, the chief citizens, and even many parish priests, abandoned the city; but most of the priests came back when the Bishop threatened all absentees with suspension. Lest the poor should die of want (in the hospital),[2] four of our Fathers were told off to distribute food among them, and in this work of mercy they were engaged from morning till night. Father Ortega and Brother Lorenzo died of the plague. The third victim was Father Howling, who had always been remarkable for a most holy life. Father James Diaz asked leave to nurse Father Howling and Brother Lorenzo, and he was carried off. The eighth victim was the venerable Father Fonseca, of whom we have

[1] Paper presented to the Spanish King by the Irish Jesuit, Father Harrison, in 1724, printed in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 1874, p. 259.

[2] I insert this, as Father Coppinger says "he sought licence of his Superiors to serve in the hospital of the plague."

already spoken as the great friend and helper of his Irish *confrère.* By some writers the month of November, and by others the 31st of December,[1] is given as the date of the glorious death of this holy and heroic Irishman, to whose memory we have endeavoured to do some justice.

[1] Nadasi, who quotes a MS. Menologium of James Stratius; Franco's *Hist. Prov. Lusitaniæ.* The date, Jan. 1599, given at p. 82 of the *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, is evidently wrong.

III.

FATHER THOMAS WHITE.

THOMAS WHITE was born at Clonmel in the year 1558, entered the Society in 1588 or 1592, was founder and Rector of the Irish College of Salamanca, a great pillar of the Irish Church, and a man of extraordinary piety and zeal; he died at Santiago on May 28, 1622.[1] "He did more for the preservation of the faith in his native land than any other Irishman ever did, during the terrible ordeal through which the Church of Ireland passed in two or three centuries of persecution. To him is due the idea of establishing Irish Colleges in foreign lands, in order to educate priests for the trying and dangerous Irish Mission. Clonmel may well be proud of having been the birthplace of this saviour of the faith of Ireland. Such a man is in every way worthy of a national monument; and I hope to see the day when the Irish Church will, in gratitude to his memory, raise one in the capital of the kingdom, and another in his native town." So writes the learned Dr. MacDonald, Rector of the Irish College of Salamanca.[2] Nearly three centuries ago another writer, Father John Coppinger,[3] asked:

[1] Foley's *Collectanea, S.J.*, art. "White, Thomas."
[2] *Irish Eccl. Record* of 1872, pp. 558, 560.
[3] *Mnemosymum to the Catholics of Ireland*, Edit. 1608, p. 268.

"Was it not that great charitie of Father Thomas White, naturall of Clonmell, seeing so manie poor scholars of his nation in great miserie at Valladolid, having no means to continue their studie nor language to begge, having given over his private commoditie, did recollect and reduce them to one place, which he maintained by his industrie and begging, until, by his petition to Philip the Second, in the year 1593, a College of Irish students was founded."

Father White's native town, Clonmel, was famous for its attachment to the Catholic faith, and is thus spoken of by Sir John Davis, the Attorney-General: "It is a well-built and well-kept town upon the river of Sure. White, a lawyer (Father White's brother) was elected sovereign of that place in 1600, and was as much Romish as any of the other magistrates of Munster towns; and in 1606 it was more haunted of Jesuits and priests than any other town or city of the province; which is the cause that we found the burgesses there more obstinate than elsewhere. For when the Lord President did gently offer to the principal inhabitants that he would spare to proceed against them then, if they would yield to conference for a time, and become bound in the meantime not to receive any Jesuit or priest into their houses, *they peremptorily refused.*"[1]

The family of White had come to Ireland with Henry the Second,[2] and had produced many distinguished men. The learned Dr. Lynch, in his *Alithinologia*, says, "The Whites have always clung

[1] *Calendar of Carew Papers*, an. 1606, p. 475.
[2] *Apologia pro Hibernia.* By S. White, S.J. p. 50.

steadfastly to the faith. In the year 1585, Victor White, of Clonmell, suffered the loss of his property, liberty, and life, rather than betray a priest of God. Peter, Dean of Waterford, and John, a priest, suffered many things for the Faith, as we are told by Sanders; Richard, Lord of Loghil, lost his liberty and lands because he refused to take the Oath of Supremacy. Sir Dominick and Sir Andrew and Nicholas White sacrificed their fortunes, and went into exile sooner than renounce the inheritance of St. Patrick. It is *beyond all doubt that there are more priests of this one family than of any other Irish name.* I myself have known Stephen White, of the Society of Jesus, Doctor of Divinity and *Professor emeritus*, who, on account of his great learning in every department of science, has been called by some *Polyhistor*, and by others *a walking library;* I think his brother was that James White, whom O'Sullevan calls Doctor of Divinity. I have seen a Doctor of Divinity at Nantes named Balthazar White, while in the same town Dr. John White of the Oratory teaches Divinity with the greatest *éclat*, and is honoured with the title of Rector of the Academy; there is also another Doctor of Divinity, of the same family, living in exile at Morlaix."[1]

It is certain that Thomas White's father lived in a castle at the west end of Clonmel,[2] that the brothers of Thomas were Mr. White, the Mayor of Clonmel, who was deposed as a "recusant" in 1606, Dr. James White, Vicar-Apostolic of Waterford and Lismore, and, most probably, Stephen

[1] *Alithinologiæ Supplementum*, p. 190.
[2] Duffy's *Catholic Magazine* of 1848, p. 272.

White, S.J. His nephew was Peter White, S.J.; his near kinsmen were Patrick and Nicholas White, who were heavily fined for not going to the Protestant church, and Father Thomas Lombard of the Order of St. Bernard. His other relatives were, Andrew Wise, Grand Prior of Capua, of the Order of St. John of Malta; Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel; Father Nicholas Comerford, S.J.; Dr. Comerford, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore; and several Fathers Lombard of the Society of Jesus.[1]

Thomas White was born in the year 1556, as we learn from the Irish Jesuit Catalogues of 1609 and 1617. As he was uncle and Superior of Father Peter White, S.J., so (we have reason to believe) he was nephew and pupil of Dr. Peter White, the prince of Irish schoolmasters, at whose celebrated school, says Stanihurst, "the Whites" were educated. He witnessed the immense advantages conferred on Ireland by the scholastic labours of Dr. White, "by whose industry and travail a great part of the youth both of the country round Waterford and of Dublin had greatly profited in learning and virtuous education."[2] He saw that when Dr. White "was ejected from his deanery for his religion, he continued, notwithstanding, in his beloved faculty of pedagogy, which was then accounted a most excellent employment in Ireland by the Catholics, *especially for this reason*, that the sons of noblemen and gentlemen might be trained up in their religion, and so consequently keep out Protestancy."[3] He witnessed the extraordinary

[1] *Ibernia Ignatiana*, pp. 188, 219.
[2] Ware's *Writers*, p. 95. [3] Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* i. 575.

and successful zeal of his brother John, of whom Sir William Drury wrote to Walsingham in the year 1577: "John White is worshipped like a god between Kilkenny and Waterford and Clonmel; he suborneth all the dwellers of these parts to detest the religion established by Her Majesty. He is a chief preacher to the contrary, an arrogant enemy to the Gospel. If he were not so, and if his auricular teaching were not such, one nobleman, to the comfort of a great number, should be converted from this Popery."[1] Encouraged by the glorious example of his kinsmen, and under the advice, we believe, of Dr. White, he resolved to serve the afflicted Irish Church by devoting himself to the beloved "faculty of pedagogy," in which we find him busily engaged at Valladolid in 1582, the year in which an alumnus of the Jesuit College, Rome, Archbishop Skerret, opened a school in Galway, and taught reading, grammar, as well as the Christian doctrine.[2]

Dr. Skerret's labours did not last long, as he had to flee for his life to Spain, where he died in the year 1593. Among the other Irish exiles who then swarmed over the Peninsula, "many poor scholars of that nation were in great misery at Valladolid, having no means to continue their studies, nor language to beg." Thomas White gave over his own private commodity, gathered the illustrious exiles under one roof, maintained them by his industry and by appeals to the Catholic sympathies of the citizens. Thus he struggled on for ten years in the hope that God would provide for his

[1] *State Papers of Ireland*, an. 1577.
[2] Lynch's *Alithinologia*, p. 82.

pupils a suitable College and a fixed revenue.[1] In the year 1592, following up a happy thought, he took all the students and presented them to King Philip the Second, at Villa Real de San Lorenzo. The King spoke kind and encouraging words to them, and gave them a large sum of money. Not satisfied with that, White brought them again to the King, and asked His Majesty to found and endow a College for them. The King graciously granted his request, and bid the youths to go to Salamanca, where a College was founded, the care of which was entrusted to the Society of Jesus. When Thomas White had placed his band of pupils in the hands of our Fathers, he gave himself to the Society, as he had long previously desired to do. So writes Jouvancy, the historian of the Society who is mistaken, however, in stating that Father White was then an aged priest, as he was only thirty-six years of age.

Such was the origin of *El Real Colegio de Nobles Irlandeses*, the first College, says Primate Lombard, that the Irish Catholics obtained on the Continent after the Reformation. On August 2, 1592, Philip the Second wrote from Valladolid "To the Rector, Chancellor, and Cloister of the University of Salamanca: As the Irish youths who had been living in this city (of Valladolid) have resolved to go to yours to avail of the opportunities it affords for advancement in literature and languages, a house having been prepared for them, in which they intend to live under the direction of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, I will allow them a good

[1] Coppinger's *Mnemosymum*, p. 268; Jouvancy's *Hist. S.J.* 1592.

annual stipend, and I desire to give them this letter to charge you, as I hereby do, to regard them as highly recommended, and not to allow them to be ill-treated in any way, but to favour and aid them as far as you can; in order that, as they have left their own country, and all they possessed in it, for the service of God our Lord and for the preservation of the Catholic faith, and as they make profession of returning to preach in that country and to suffer martyrdom, if necessary, they may get in that University the reception which they have reason to expect. I am certain you will do this, and become benefactors to them; so that with your subscription and that of the city, to the authorities of which I am also writing, they may be able to pursue their studies with content and freedom, and thereby attain the end which they have in view. *Yo el Rey.*"[1]

Fathers White, Archer, and Conway were the men to whom the fortunes of the young establishment were entrusted, and they were its "Vice-Rectors" for seven years. From an inscription over the chapel door, we learn that the College was dedicated to the Apostle of Ireland, who is also revered as the Patron of one of the chief provinces of Spain; and that Pope Paul the Fifth attached special Indulgences to the picture of St. Patrick which is to be seen in that chapel. Father White, while yet a novice, was Spiritual Director of the Salamanca students from 1592 to 1594, when he was sent to preside over the College of Lisbon, recently founded by Father Howling. In 1595, he was at Coruña, probably questing for

[1] *Commentarius de Regno Hib.* p. 137.

his two Colleges. He there met the Captain of the Port of Coruña, Dominic O'Cullain, a native of Youghal, head of the clan Cullain, commander of heavy cavalry in the wars of the French League, one of the handsomest men of his time, and a model of a Christian soldier. This man, of such an extraordinary career, consulted Father White about his vocation, became a lay-brother of the Society of Jesus, and ultimately a martyr, whose life and death shall be briefly sketched further on in this book.

In 1602, Father White was Rector of the Irish College of Salamanca. In 1604, he petitioned Father General to appoint a *Prefect of the Mission* over all the Irish Colleges, S.J., whose duties were to visit them, to keep up a good understanding between Rectors and Professors, and harmony among the students; to examine the accounts, and to further the material interests of the different houses. He got Father Archer appointed first *Prefect.*

Meanwhile, the English Government did its best to prevent Irish youths from frequenting the Continental Colleges, as we may learn from the following State Paper.

"By the Lord Deputy and Councell, Mountjoy, 10th March, 1602.—We straightly charge, in Her Majesty's name, that no Merchant nor Merchants, Maister nor Owner of any Ship, Barque, Pickard, or other Bottom whatsoever, nor Mariner, nor other person nor persons whatsoever, not first licensed thereunto by the Lord Deputy, or . . . doe or shall trafick, trade, or take his or their voyage from any Port, Town, Haven, or Creek. And such licensed

Merchant shall take his or their Corporall Oath, and enter into a recognizance in a convenient summe to Her Majesty, that he . . . shall not carry nor transport, nor suffer to be transported nor carried, with himself, by his means, procurement, consent, nor knowledge, any letters, messages, massing or other seditious books, or libels, or passengers whatsoever, but such . . . as he shall produce and make known to the Lord Deputy . . . and he shall keep an orderly booke of his proceedings therein. And any Merchant who does not observe this, shall have his ship and goods confiscated and forfeited to Her Majesty, and their bodies to be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure."

In 1603 Father White was at Lisbon, where he received a long letter in Portuguese written from Ireland by the Jesuits Leynach and Morony, who gave him a detailed account of the battle of Kinsale, of the persecutions in Ireland, and of the life and martyrdom of his friend Dominic O'Cullen, whom they call Nosso Martyr O'Coulen. In 1606, at the request of the Protectors and students of the Irish nation, at Lisbon and Salamanca, the Pope granted to the fishermen of Setnual and Casquaes, and other districts of Portugal, Galicia, and the Provinces of Biscay, permission to fish on six Sundays or festivals every year, and to sell the fish thus taken for the benefit of the aforesaid Colleges. In 1607, Father White was at Lisbon, and helped to keep a correspondence open between the Jesuits of Ireland and their General at Rome. In that year, also, Father Archer asked the General to give leave to himself and Father White to go to

Belgium, and establish an Irish novitiate there. In 1609, Father White was consoled by the great progress of his Salamanca students, which was evidenced by the following certificate written in their favour by the Rector and Cloister of the University on the 29th of March, 1609, and addressed to the Bishop: "Although this University has still, and has had, so many native children, who witness in their own persons throughout the world to the virtue and learning inculcated in it, yet it cannot but be content and proud to have adopted and admitted into its family, some sixteen years ago, the College of Irish students, who, under the government of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, have always displayed so great eagerness in their studies, and in the exercises of virtue and Christian perfection, that they have rendered themselves worthy of the highest estimation that can be formed of them, and of any favours which can be done them: particularly when we consider that their sole intention and desire is to return, as they do, for the glory and honour of God, to preach and defend their sacred religion against the heretics in Ireland and other parts, doing immense good, and sealing with their blood, which many have shed, and by their martyrdoms, which many have suffered, the true Catholic doctrine, through the mercy of God preserved in Spain and taught in this University."

In 1610, this Irish College got authority to use as its arms the royal quarterings of Spain; a house was presented to it in the name of the kingdom, and this inscription was put over the door: "This College was built by these Kingdoms for the support of the Catholic religion in Ireland, in the

year in which Philip the Third, the Catholic King, expelled the Moriscos, 1610."

In the year 1611, so many Irish were flocking to the Irish Colleges in Spain and Portugal, that the Queen of Spain, most probably at the request of Father White, wrote to His Holiness: "Most Holy Father. The ardent zeal I know your Holiness has for the service of God and the good of the Church . . . cause me not to hesitate in writing to your Holiness to recommend an object worthy of your zeal. Such I regard the protection of the seminaries of Irishmen, who now with such courage return, after their studies, to preach the Gospel in their native land, shedding their blood for the confession of the Catholic faith and obedience to the Church of Rome. And because just at present the persecution is greatest, it is necessary to procure for them more schools, where they may be taught; for the pupils are multiplying every day, so that, although in these kingdoms the King, my Lord, has instituted three Colleges, at Salamanca, Lisbon, and Santiago, there is not room for all that come. And so some go on to Rome, where it would be a great comfort to them to have a seminary, as they have in other nations. Though I am sure the motives that exist for this good work are quite sufficient to move your Holiness thereto; yet will I not lose what I may gain by supplicating your Holiness, as I hereby do, to favour and assist them, that they may have a seminary founded under your protection; a thing which will certainly tend to the service of God, and will be to me a singular favour. Madrid. February 29, 1611. Your Holiness' very humble and obedient daughter, Mar-

garet, by the grace of God, Queen of the Spains, of the two Sicilies, and of Jerusalem. THE QUEEN."

It is more than probable that it was Father White who asked the Queen to write this kind Christian letter. In that year he received *A True Report of the State of Things in Ireland*, and some letters on the same melancholy subject, which would fill forty-eight pages of this book. His heart was sorely afflicted by these sad reports, and no doubt it was through him the Queen had learned that "just at present the persecution is greatest." On one of these documents Father White wrote in English, "They take away the liberties and charters of each city, which they had tyme out of minde; they make no traficking in or out of the Kingdome, but they must give the moiety or half out of their vioadage upon their departure, and half of their profit upon their returne, intending thereby that no merchants or natives of the country shall have trade or traficke in or out of the country, but only English merchants, such as shall be sent out of England, as hereby the natives may be utterly impoverished and extinguished."

About a week after the date of the Queen's letter, the King wrote to the Governor of Galicia: "I have determined that the College of Irishmen, which was founded in Santiago some time ago, shall be governed henceforth by the religious of the Society of Jesus. I am writing to tell the Provincial to make what arrangements he thinks fit, and I charge you to attend to everything relating to said College, and to give orders that the Provincial be obeyed, and to give to it the sum of money which I have been accustomed to grant to it each

year; and this is to be paid with punctuality." As the Jesuit Provincial was not willing to undertake the burthen of this young establishment, his own Province being deeply in debt, and as the actual Superior was unwilling to hand the College over to Fathers White and Archer, the King sent a new order through the Duke of Lerma, who wrote to the Provincial in 1613: "His Majesty understands that the manner in which the Irish College of Santiago is at present governed does not suit the end for which it was founded. . . . He commands anew that your Reverence shall order your religious to govern the said institution as they do those of Salamanca, and he commands the Irish clergyman, who has presided over it up to the present, to surrender his office, and let what has been heretofore employed in his support, go to the funds of that house." In consequence of this royal command, Fathers Thomas White, William White, and Richard Conway took charge of the establishment, and by their influence with the faithful, to whose charity they never ceased to appeal, they were able to maintain ten pupils in 1617, and twenty-five some time afterwards.

The service rendered to the Catholic religion by these seminaries is recognized in a State paper of the year 1613, which is printed in the *Hibernica Curiosa*. It says: "The true religion is not by the natives had in any regard on account of the multitude of Popish schoolmasters, priests, friars, Jesuits, and seminaries. The number of priests appeareth to be occasioned by a continual fomentation out of the *seminaries erected for the Irish in Spain and the Low Countries*, and by the Colleges of the Jesuits,

every of which Colleges instructs and indoctrinates two students of the Irish. The cities, towns, and country swarm with priests and Jesuits. Their sons they send to be educated in Spain, France, Italy, and the Archduke's dominions, more than usual, which hath been no ancient custom among them; for Sir Patrick Barnwall, now living, was the first gentleman's son of quality,[1] that was ever sent out of Ireland to be brought up in learning beyond the seas. The next rebellion, whenever it shall happen, doth threaten more danger to the State than any heretofore, when the cities and walled towns were always faithful; (1) because they have the same bodies they ever had, and therein they have and had advantage of us; (2) from infancy they have been and are exercised in the use of arms; (3) the realm, by reason of the long peace, was never so full of youths; (4) that they are better soldiers than heretofore their continual employment in wars abroad assures us, and they do conceive that their men are better than ours."

In 1617 or 1618, Father White was Rector of the Irish College of Salamanca, as we learn from a document presented to the King of Spain, *circ.* 1618, by Count O'Sullevan-Beare, and preserved among the Ussher MSS. in Trinity College. It says: "In Ireland there are three kinds of Irish, (1) the ancient, (2) the mixed, who are descended of Irish mothers, and in language, habit and customs do conform to the Irish, such as the Earls of Kildare, Desmond, Clanrickard and Ormond, the Lords Barry, Roche, &c., (3) the English-

[1] I think his neighbour and friend, Father Christopher Holywood, S.J., of Artane, was sent before him.

Irished, who hold not Irish customs or language, that is, merchants and traders of towns, and some knights and gents of East Meath, and about Dublin and in the Pale. Among the ancient Irish are John Baptista (Duigin), of the Society, Rector in Lisbon, Cornelius de la Roch (Carrig), of the same Society, William Macrath, S.J., Lector in the Seminary at Lisbon. Of the mixed are Father John Robert Nugent, S.J., in Ireland, and his brother Father Nicholas Nugent, a prisoner in Dublin for the Catholic faith. Of the *English-Irish* are Father Thomas White, S.J., Rector of the Irish Seminary of Salamanca, and Father Richard Conway, S.J., Rector of the Irish at Santiago."

Father White might be called "English-Irish" by O'Sullevan-Beare, but he was Irish in tongue as well as in heart, and rendered more service to Ireland than did all the O'Sullevans that ever lived. We find this indefatigable priest at Rome in the year 1619. There he received several letters from persons in Spain beseeching him to use his influence to get the Irish College of Seville placed under the care of Jesuit Fathers, as were those of Salamanca, Lisbon, and Santiago. According to Ortiz de Zuñiga, in his *Annals of Seville*, some pious people and particularly a devout and zealous priest, who afterwards entered the Society of Jesus, desired to establish a College for the Irish. So in 1612, the Irish had a house with some form of College, and attended lectures at the Jesuit College of St. Hermenigild. They were fostered and assisted by Don Felix de Guzman, who thought it would be advantageous if the Society of Jesus would charge itself with the government of the

young institution. This College had been started by a zealous youth of Lisbon College, named Theobald Stapleton, who was also called by the Irish equivalent *Galldubh.* He left Lisbon before he had completed his studies or received ordination; and, without previously communicating his design to any one, went to the Duke of Braganza and to the Archbishop and the Governor of Seville, from whom he got encouragement. He sought out and gathered around him the poor Irish scholars of Seville, and, neglecting his own studies, hired a house and procured food for them, that they might prosecute their studies and give a good account of themselves. When he had exhausted the resources of Seville, he went with a companion named Charles Ryan to Madrid, and obtained more assistance. He threw himself heart and soul into his work and procured for the spiritual direction of his companions Father James Kearney,[1] a young priest of the College of Salamanca, who afterwards became a very learned and holy Jesuit. Theobald Stapleton became the proto-martyr of the College of Seville, which afterwards became the fruitful mother of martyrs, and in which he had served his apprenticeship of martyrdom. He returned to Ireland, and was stabbed to the heart while giving Holy Communion.

Don Felix de Guzman assisted Stapleton, gave him a monthly subsidy out of his own resources, interested the King and others in behalf of the College, and induced the Society to accept its management. When he died Bishop-Elect of Majorca, he left the College his universal heir.

[1] Stapleton, Ryan, and Kearney, were from the county of Tipperary.

Another benefactor, Don Geronimo de Medina Farragut, at a time when the students had no fixed abode, invited them to his house, lived with them for two years, and, as he records himself, was highly edified by their piety and good conduct. When the Society took charge of the College in 1619, he made to it an absolute grant of his houses which were valued at 4,000 crowns. The first Superiors were James Kearney and Maurice Reagan; they were succeeded by four Spaniards. Seeing that it was not prospering under such management, de Guzman and Farragut pressed the Jesuits to take charge of it—the former offering to support the Fathers who might be sent thither, the latter undertaking to make over to them the houses occupied by the students, on the sole condition that the College should be called *of the Pure Conception of the Mother of God, Our Lady, and of the Catholic Faith.* This name it retained ever after, though by the people it was affectionately called *Colegio de los Chiquitos*, or the College of the Little Ones; whence also the street was christened *Calle de los Chiquitos*, and even a tavern adjoining the College was styled *La Taberna de los Chiquitos.*

Father White induced Father General, and de Guzman requested the King, to write to the Spanish Provincial, and press him to take charge of the Irish College; and the Jesuit of course consented. The King's letter runs thus: "THE KING: Reverend and devout Father Augustin de Quirros, Provincial of the Society of Jesus in Andalucia. Persons zealous for the service of our Lord and for the preservation and increase of the Catholics in Ireland, have informed me that it

would be of great importance to encourage and direct the students of that nation, who come to the Irish College in Seville, and that this would be best done if the Society of Jesus would take charge of it, as it has of those which are in Lisbon, Santiago, Salamanca, and Flanders. And I, who have always desired and procured the furtherance of the Catholic faith in Ireland, have received their petition graciously, and I charge you to take up the government of the said College, in the same way as the Society has that of Lisbon and the other places that I have mentioned, and besides the service of God which may result therefrom, I shall look on this as a service to myself. Lisbon, July 25, 1619: I, THE KING."

The result of these negotiations was that Father Richard Conway became its first Jesuit Rector on August 20, 1619.

We next meet Father White at the death-bed of his distinguished pupil and fellow-diocesan, Father Murty, who was a man of great wit and capacity, of remarkable industry, of extraordinary grace of delivery, and was like to prove a miracle in the matter of learning.[1] Concerning the last moments of this promising religious, Father Ferdinand de Castro writes: "On Sunday, September 21, 1620, at ten o'clock in the morning, our Lord was pleased to take to Himself Father Stephen Murty. He died of a hectic fever, the seeds of which he brought from the College of Salamanca, when he came to profess Theology here, and all the means employed to battle with it were of no avail. It was the opinion of all that he should go home to

[1] Life of Father Murty in Oliver's and H. Foley's *Collectanea.*

Ireland to his native air, which agreed well with him on a former occasion. However, he got but as far as the town of Bayonne, when his illness confined him to bed, and took such a hold on him that he knew he was dying. He gave this College notice of his indisposition, and Father Thomas White went off at once to attend and console him in his trouble, and remained with him in company with another priest from this seminary, for the space of five days, till he died ; and this diminished his grief at dying away from his beloved College. Before he left Santiago he made a general confession, and said he was making his confession for death, for he thought it more probable that he should go to the other world than to Ireland. In his illness he also confessed several times to Father White; and when they brought him the Most Holy Sacrament, he delivered such a tender and affecting address, that the principal people of the town, who were present, looked on him as a saint. He received Extreme Unction in his full senses, which he retained to the end. The Franciscan Fathers, who attended him in his sickness, asked for his body, and they honoured him so far as to bury him near the high altar, and for three days in succession recited for him the Divine Office, at which the Governor with his guard of soldiers, the Mayor with the town authorities, and the Abbot, with the whole staff of the collegiate church, attended. Our Lord was thus pleased to honour him in death for the great humility he practised in life. He never did an action which savoured of vanity, nor uttered a word to his own credit, though he had the splendid talents we all know. He was thirty-six

years of age, of which he had spent nineteen in the Society with singular exemplariness, edification, and recollection, so that no one could find the slightest fault in him. He had a remarkable and heavenly gift for bringing back heretics, in which he employed himself the seven years he was in his native land, to the wonderful advantage and fruit of souls, and to the great credit of our Society. No one ever saw him angry, nor heard him say a rash word; and in his long illness, which was so trying and painful, he was never heard to complain of the want of anything. On the contrary, every one saw in him great conformity with the will of God; and his confessor goes so far as to say that he never committed a mortal sin in his whole life."

The same Spanish Jesuit, Ferdinand de Castro, had soon to write an account of the death of Father White himself. He says: "This day, Sunday, the 28th of May, 1622, at seven o'clock in the morning, Father Thomas White was called to receive the reward of his great labours and merit. He died of fever. He was sixty-four years of age, and had spent thirty-four years in the Society, during which he laboured apostolically in the service of God and of the Catholic faith, which through means of the colleges he founded in Spain has been preserved in his native land. His life and virtues are well known in the Society, and cannot have justice done to them in a brief letter. All his anxiety, all his desires were ever for the greater glory of God and the good of his colleges, in behalf of which he toiled incessantly. He had always great resignation to the will of God, from whom, as he declared before death, he had never

asked anything in earnest which he did not receive. God always favoured his designs by moving the wills of the Chapters, Prelates, and Princes with whom he came in contact to assist him with their subscriptions. They assisted him most liberally, and they recognized in him a man of great zeal and extraordinary virtue. To the students of the colleges founded by him he was a bright example of religious perfection; and by his influence and untiring exertions various religious orders were supplied with distinguished subjects, and Ireland was peopled with holy priests and prelates who confess that, after God, it is to Father White they are indebted for all the good that is in them.

"He edified exceedingly all those lay people who knew him. He practised great penance, and, notwithstanding his age, wore a hair-shirt continually, and took the discipline every day. He cultivated much simplicity in his dress and manner of life, and for his daily food he used only a little bread and cheese, which he ate as he journeyed along the road. When travelling, and amidst the external occupation in which he was almost constantly employed, he kept up a singular interior recollection, and never once omitted his exercises of prayer and spiritual contemplation. In his last illness he gave strong proofs of the sanctity of his life. Though death caught him at the moment when he would naturally feel it most, being then engaged in organizing this College of Santiago, he bowed down with the most fervent acts of resignation to the holy will of God, and expressed his great regret at not having served Him still more devotedly. Even at the moments when the fever

went to his head, his sentiments were the same, and thus evidenced that virtue and religion had become a second nature to him. He received Holy Communion three times during the fifteen days his sickness lasted; Extreme Unction was administered to him in good time, and, as we finished the recommendation of the soul to God, he breathed his last in great peace, his countenance retaining all the appearance of life. All these things fill us with the hope that he is in Heaven; but we are overwhelmed with grief for what all the colleges have lost in this father and protector of his country, and his death has created a profound sensation in this seminary and throughout the whole city, in which it is bewailed with tears."

Such were the life, labours, and death of this truly Apostolic man in whom we may find verified the words of our Lord: "I have chosen you that you should go, and should bring forth fruit, and your fruit should remain." What that fruit was we may learn from the fact, witnessed to by the German Jesuit Tanner, the Spanish Father Nieremberg, and the Irish Father Reade,[1] that, in the first fifty years of its existence under the direction of Father White and his successors, the Irish College of Salamanca educated three hundred and seventy students, of whom were one Primate of all Ireland, four Archbishops, five Bishops, nine Provincials of Religious Orders, thirty martyrs, whose lives were cut short by the sword, the halter,

[1] See biography of William Bathe, S.J., in Tanner's *Societas Jesu Apostolorum Imitatrix*, and Nieremberg's *Varones Ilustres de la Compañia de Jesus;* also Father Redanus or Reade's *Commentary on the Maccabees.*

or by imprisonment, exile, and other calamities suffered for the Faith; one hundred and twenty Religious, twelve distinguished writers, and forty Doctors of Divinity and Professors thereof, many of whom, says Nieremberg, filled the first chairs in the most celebrated Universities of Europe.[1]

[1] For much interesting information on Father White I am indebted to Dr. William MacDonald's *History of the Irish Colleges since the Reformation*, and to his many kind letters written to me while he was Rector of the Irish College of Salamanca.

IV.

FATHER NICHOLAS COMERFORD.

FATHER WHITE received great help in his arduous undertaking from the presence and influence in Spain of his distinguished kinsman, Father Nicholas Quemerford or Comerford, S.J., who "was honourably employed and obtained unbounded applause in some of the most celebrated colleges of that kingdom."[1] The Comerfords showed ardent attachment to the Faith in the sixteenth century. A wayside cross erected at Danganmore at that period bears the inscription: "Pray for the souls of Richard Comerford and of his wife Dame Johanna Saint-Leger." In 1592, Richard Comerford of Waterford, Merchaunt, is reported to the Government for entertaining Sir Morren, a priest; and Belle Butler, wife unto Thomas Comerford of Waterford, Merchaunt (now in Spain), is denounced for retaining Sir John White, priest. Nicholas was the son of Patrick Comerford,[2] of Waterford, and of his wife, a lady of the influential family of Walsh; he was uncle of Dr. Patrick Comerford, the distinguished Bishop of Waterford and Lismore; he was related to the best families of his

[1] Brennan's *Eccles. History of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 158.

[2] His ancestor had come from Staffordshire with King John, and married a niece of Hugh de Lacy; members of his family were Palatine Barons of Danganmore and Marquesses d'Anglure.

native city, was the first of sixteen Waterford Jesuits of the name, who lived between the years 1590 and 1640; and he was the first of the many celebrated natives of Waterford who joined the Society of Jesus. He was educated at the school of Dr. Peter White, "from which, says Stanihurst, as from a Trojan horse, issued men of distinguished literary ability and learning—the Whites, Comerfords, Walshes, Wadings, Dormers, Shees, Garveys, Butlers, Stronges, and Lombards.[1] Out of this schoole have sprouted such proper ympes through the painfull diligence and the laboursome industry of a famous lettered man, Mr. Peter White, as generally the whole weale publike of Ireland, and especially the southerne parts of that island, are greatly thereby furthered. This gentleman's methode in trayning up youth was rare and singular, framing the education according to the scoler's veine. If he found him free, he would bridle hym, like a wyse Isocrates, from his booke: if he perceived hym to be dull, he would spur hym forwarde; if he understoode that he were the worse for beating, he would win him with rewardes; finally, by interlacing study with vacation, sorrow with mirth, payne with pleasure, sowernesse with sweetnesse, roughness with myldnesse, he had so good successe in schooling his pupils, as in good sooth I may boldly byde by it, that in the realme of Ireland was no Grammar School so good, in England, I am well assured, none better. And because it was my happy happe (God and my parents be thanked) to have been one of his crewe, I take it to stand with my duty, sith I may not

[1] Stanihurst, *De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis*, p. 25.

stretche myne habilitie in requiting his good turnes, yet to manifeste my good will in remembrying his paines. And, certes, I acknowledge myselfe so much bounde and beholding to hym and his, as for his sake I reverence the meanest stone cemented in the walles of that famous schoole."[1]

From White's school Comerford went to Oxford (where White himself had been some time Fellow of Oriel), and, according to Anthony Wood, "he there took his Degree of Arts in the year 1562, after he had spent at least four years in pecking and hewing at logic and philosophy. Which degree being completed by determination, he went into his own country, entered the sacred function, and had preferment there, but was turned out from it because of his religion. He wrote in English a pithy and learned treatise, very exquisitely penned, as one Richard Stanihurst saith, entitled *Answers to Certain Questions Propounded by the Citizens of Waterford.* He also wrote divers sermons. Soon after he left his country for the sake of religion, went to the University of Louvain, where he was promoted to the degree of Doctor of Divinity June 23, 1576, and afterwards, as it is said, wrote and published divers things."[2]

Wood was mistaken with regard to the date, the 23rd of June, as we know from Foppens' MS. History of Louvain[3] that Comerford went to that University in 1565, and became Doctor of Divinity, on October 23, 1576; on which occasion his fellow-

[1] Stanihurst's *Description of Ireland.*
[2] *Athenæ Oxon.* i. p. 200, Edit. 1721.
[3] MS. Hist. Universitatis Lovan. p. 258.

citizen, Peter Lombard, who ranked "Primus Universitatis," composed and published a Latin poem entitled *Carmen Heroicum in Doctoratum Nicolai Quemerfordii.* Comerford came at once to the help of his countrymen; his presence was soon felt and was thus reported in 1577 by the Lord President of Munster: "Doctor Quemerford of Waterford is also of late come out of Louvain; he and all the rest taught all the way between Rye and Bristol against our religion, and caused a number to despair. There are a great number of students of this city of Waterford in Louvain, at the charge of their friends and fathers."[1] The fame of Louvain spread over Europe, its lecture-halls were frequented at times by three thousand students, and Cardinal Bellarmine declared he had never perhaps seen anything equal to it as to numbers, learning, &c.[2] Among those thousands the genius and learning of the city of Waterford shone with the brightest lustre.

A people so gifted and enlightened as the inhabitants of Waterford could neither be cajoled nor coerced into the embraces of heresy. This is fully recognized and deplored by the missionary Lord President of Munster, who continues in these terms: "James Archer of Kilkenny, Dr. Comerford of Waterford, and Chaunter Walsh are the principal agents of the Pope. Popery is mainly supported by the students of Waterford educated

[1] See Dr. Maziere Brady's *State Papers*, an. 1577.

[2] "Credite mihi, multa gymnasia, multas Academias, multa musarum domicilia vidi, sed rara sunt ac prope nulla, quæ cum hac illustrissima sede velut arce quadam Sapientiæ, vel auditorum multitudine, vel Doctorum celebritate, vel loci ipsius commoditate comparari possint." (*Concio Lovanii habita*, XX.)

at Louvain, by whom the proud and undutiful inhabiters of this town are cankered in Popery, undutiful to Her Majesty, slandering the Gospel publicly, as well this side the sea as beyond in England, that they fear not God nor man, and hath their altars, painted images, and candlesticks in derision of the Gospel, every day in their synagogues—so detestable that they may be called the unruly newters rather than subjects. Masses infinite they have in their several churches every morning without any fear. I have spied them; for I chanced to arrive last Sunday at five of the clock in the morning and saw them resort out of the churches by heaps; this is shameful in a reformed city." This "shameful" conduct went on for twenty years longer, for Dr. Lyon, Protestant Bishop of Cork, reports to Hunsdon, the Lord Chamberlain, in a letter dated July 6, 1596, "The Mayor of Waterford, which is a great lawyer, one Wadding, carieth the sword and rod (as I think he should do) for Her Majesty; but he nor his sheriffs never came to the church sithence he was mayor, nor sithence this reign, nor *none of the citizens, men nor women, nor in any other towne or city throughout this province*, which is lamentable to hear, but most lamentable to see; the Lord in His mercy amend it when it shall please His gracious goodness to look on them." These canting knaves, Drury and Lyon,

> Were of that saintly, murderous brood,
> To carnage and the gospel given,
> Who think through unbelievers' blood
> Lies their directest path to Heaven.

If Drury could have "spied," and caught Comerford and Archer, he would have got them hanged,

drawn, and quartered, as two years previously he had served their brother in religion, Edmund O'Donnell, S.J. However, this cruel man, who reported the movements of Comerford, went a year afterwards to give an account of himself to God; having hanged Bishop O'Hely, he suddenly got sick and died, uttering blasphemies.[1]

Fathers Comerford and Archer escaped the clutches of Drury, perhaps through the kindness of Annie O'Meara, the wife of Magrath, the Queen's Archbishop of Cashel. Annie was in the habit of eliciting State secrets from his Grace, and of giving timely warning to priests when any danger was impending. Indeed the poor apostate friar aided her in the good work; for on June 26, 1582, he wrote to her from Greenwich: "I desire you now to cause the friends of Darby Creagh (Bishop of Cork) to send him out of the whole country, if they may; for there is such search to be made for him that, unless he be wise, he shall be taken. I desire you, also, to send away from your house *all the priests you are in the habit of having there.*" This unfortunate man and his wife were ultimately reconciled to the Church by Dr. O'Kearney, the Catholic Archbishop of Cashel.

Dr. Comerford and James Archer, after their departure from Ireland, entered the Society of Jesus; the latter at Rome in 1581, the former at Madrid.[2] The erudite Franciscan, Father Brennan, says in his *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, that Comerford "was one of the most eminent lecturers

[1] So says the tract of Father Holywood, which has for title, *Magna Supplicia a Persecutoribus aliquot in Hibernia sumpta.*

[2] Father Meehan's *Memoirs of the Irish Hierarchy*, p. 201.

in Louvain. . . . Wishing to combine the religious with the literary life, he entered the Society of Jesus. He was afterwards sent to Spain, and he was there honourably employed for many years, and obtained unbounded applause in some of the most celebrated colleges of that kingdom." He was at Bayona de Galicia, in Spain, in the year 1589, at Lisbon the year after, when "he was by Cardinal Allen and divers others estates sent for from Rome to have the archbishoprick of Cashel."[1]

After the year 1590, Father Comerford disappears from our view; he is not named in the Catalogue of Irish Jesuits of 1609, and is supposed to have gone to receive the reward of his labours in the year 1599. Sketches of his career are given in Stanihurst's *Descriptio Hiberniæ*, Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Harris' Edition of *Ware's Irish Writers*, the *Collectanea* of Dr. Oliver and Brother Foley, S.J., Brennan's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, Meehan's *Memoirs of the Irish Hierarchy*, the *Ibernia Ignatiana*, and in the *National Biography*. He wrote: 1. Many learned tracts on philosophical and theological subjects. 2. Sermons. 3. *Carmina in laudem Comitis Ormondiæ.* 4. *An Answer to certaine Questions propounded by the Citizens of Waterford.*

Father Comerford was the first of a long line of distinguished Waterford Jesuits, and as he and his immediate relatives worked with all their might for the preservation of Catholicity in their native city, their efforts were crowned with success. The Lord Chancellor, "in his speech upon his granting a seizure of the Liberties of Waterforde," said, "The

[1] Cal. of State Papers, Ireland, March 14, 1589, Jan. 20, 1590.

city of Waterforde hath performed many excellent and acceptable services to the Queen of England, insomuch that they deserved the *posie* of *Urbs intacta manet.* . . . But this citie which thus flourished, and the inhabitants and citizens thereof, whom I know to be equal, for all manner and breeding and sufficiencie, to any in the King's dominions, or in Europe; yet when they yielde their heart to foreign states[1] (which is the principal part of man), then they neglected their duty and fidelity,[2] so far forth; as being directed by Popish priests and Jesuits, that they could not within their whole corporation find one man[3] to serve the King's majesty in the magistracy of Mayor, *for want* of conformity.[4] . . . And so I pronounce that a seizure be awarded of all their liberties." This English document, from which I have given a few extracts, is in the Irish College of Salamanca, and has foot-notes appended to it, apparently by Father White, of which I also give a few instances.

[1] "He means the Pope, to whom Waterford men are said to have yielded their hearts, because they stick unto him, and yield him obedience in matters of faith and religion, to whom wholly they rely as to a true head visible of God's Church on earth, they must needs neglect their duty and fidelity here mentioned."

[2] "Which is nothing else but to become Protestant, take the blasphemous oath, and follow the King's religion, acknowledging him head of the Church in his dominions; and this is the duty and fidelity which Waterford men neglect, and will neglect, God willing, for ever, but they cannot be accused by their adversaries of any want of duty or fidelity becoming a Christian subject."

[3] "Not one Waterford man who may truly be so termed, that is, a man of any worth, birth, or ancient standing in the city, was, or is found comformable to the King's religion, and therefore not fit to serve him in the office of mayor."

[4] "This is our glory and the greatest commendation we may have given us, and testified by our adversaries, that the cause of losing our liberties is want of conformity in religion to the King's majesty, who will admit none to bear public office but such as will take the oath, and go to church there, forsake God's Church and become of Satan's congregation—such as Waterford affordeth not."

V.

BROTHER DOMINIC COLLINS.

THERE is a beautiful and venerable abbey at Timoleague,[1] near Courtmacsherry, in the county of Cork. "Its remains still witness to its former magnificence; they occupy a lovely and peaceful station on the banks of a silver stream, whose tide laves the ancient but firm walls. The building, though unroofed, is entire; it consists of a large choir with an aisle, one side of which aisle is a square cloister, arcaded with a platform in the middle. . . . There is a handsome Gothic tower seventy feet high between the choir and the aisle. Here are several tombs of ancient Irish families, as MacCarthy Reagh's in the middle of the choir; west of it is an old broken monument of the O'Cullanes."[2] No spot could be more suitable for the mournful musings of a bard, and *A Soliloquy in the Abbey of Timolaga*, penned a hundred years ago by John O'Cullane, is one of the finest poems written in the modern Irish language. The O'Cullanes were formerly lords of Castlelyons and the surrounding territory.

The subject of our present memoir was chief

[1] In Irish, *Tech Mo-Laga*=the House of my Laga, that is, of St. Molaga.

[2] See Brewer's *Beauties of Ireland*, and Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland*.

of that clan in the sixteenth century; but Boyle, first Earl of Cork, managed to get hold of his property, and in his last will left the suppressed monastery of Castlelyons to his daughter, Lady Barrymore, "*to buy her gloves and pins.*" When Lord Barrymore threw down the old walls of Castlelyons,[1] he discovered a chimney-piece, which bore the inscription: *Lehan O'Cullone hoc fecit MCIIII.* Richard Boyle, a needy and obscure adventurer, came to Ireland about the year 1586, and became "the great Earl of Cork." In a letter, which he wrote to the Earl of Warwick in 1641,[2] he shows us that the ambition of his soul and the work of his life were "to roote out the Popish partie of the natives of the kingdome and to plant it with English Protestants; to prevent these Irish Papists from having any land here and not to suffer them to live therein; to attainte them all of high treason; to encourage the English to serve courageously against them in hope to be settled in the lands of them they *shall kill or otherwise destroy.*" This bloodthirsty monster urged that policy also on the Lords Justices, one of whom, the notorious Parsons, replied: "I am of your mind, that a *thorow destruction* must be made before we can settle on a safe peace. I pray you *spare none*, but indict all of quality or estate. We have done so hereabouts to many thousands, and have already executed some."

Such was the inheritance, such the place of rest of the O'Cullens, and such was their fate at

[1] Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*, pp. 400—410; Seward's *Topograph. Dict.* v. Castlelyons.
[2] Hardiman's *Minstrelsy*, p. 165.

the end of the sixteenth century, when they were "rooted out, attainted, killed, and otherwise thorowly destroyed." We find a few traces of them at that time. Catherine, daughter of O'Cullen, a chief in Carbery, was wife of O'Hurley, who was M.P. in the Parliament of 1585, and built the Castle of Ballinacarrig, on the window of which are a statue of the Virgin and Child, and the inscription "R.H.C.C. 1585."[1] Her son, Randal Oge Dubh O'Hurley married Ellen de Courcy, daughter of the eighteenth Baron of Kinsale, and her descendant, John O'Hurley, emigrated to America with his family about the year 1810.

The O'Cullens seem to have been connected, not only with the de Courcys, but with the MacCarthy Môr, as a State paper of that century says: "These are of Carbery, of Florence MacCarthy his countrie, his followers, cosens, and kinsmen—MacCarthy Reagh, *Donogh Oge O'Cullen*, Reynold Oge O'Hurley th' elder.[2] . . . About sixty years later, that is, in 1642, we find a Florence MacCarthy and Black O'Cullane plundering the town of Ross-Carbery and besieging a castle, which was defended by Captain Freke."[3] This is the last mention I find of the O'Cullens, of whom O'Duggan wrote in the thirteenth century: "A great tribe, with whom it is not safe to contend, are the battle-trooped host of the O'Cullens."[4] The pedigree of their chiefs for one hundred and nine generations is given by MacFirbis and in two other books of the

[1] Randal Hurley and Catherine Collins.
[2] *Life and Letters of MacCarthy Môr*, by MacCarthy Glas, p. 103.
[3] *History of Bandon*, p. 397.
[4] Rotheglach ris nach dual drêim
Sluag cath-fednach O g-Cuilêin.

Royal Irish Academy. Their name was taken from an ancestor named *Cuilén-in-Chatha*, that is, *Whelp-of-Battle.* The pedigree does not come down as far as the subject of our memoir, who succeeded his father as chief in the second half of the sixteenth century. But we are pretty certain, that the State paper previously quoted gives us his name, Donogh Oge O'Cullen and that he was the brother-in-law of O'Hurley, and the "cosen and kinsman" of the Lord of Kinsale and of MacCarthy More, Prince of Carbery. We think even that we have his personal pedigree at page 102 of a manuscript marked $\frac{23}{L.4}$ in the Royal Irish Academy. It begins thus: "Donchadh,[1] son of John," and so on for twenty generations and more.

Dominic O'Cullen was a man who displayed a courageous and heroic heart, both when serving in the armies of the Kings of France and Spain, and when combating under the banner of the Cross in the Society of Jesus.[2] He was born at or near Youghal, of noble and illustrious parents, the proprietors of an estate or townland called La Branche.[3] His father was John O'Cuiléin,[4] whose wife was Felicity O'Dula or O'Dril, which I take to have been miswritten by foreigners for O'Driscol. He was born, according to some authors, in the year

[1] Anglicized, Denis, Donough, Dominic; compare Donough More=Domnach Môr, where Domnach is derived from Dominicus.

[2] Tanner's *Soc. Jesu Militans;* Jouvancy's *Hist. Soc. Jesu*, an. 1602.

[3] This seems a French translation of *Craebhach*, or Crevagh. See Dr Joyce's *Names of Places*, p. 501.

[4] The name is O'Cuilêin in MacFirbis and O'Coileâin in the *Four Masters.* The *Imago Primi Sæculi* says Dominic was "ex Hiberniæ Proceribus."

1567, but his own statement shows that the date of his birth was 1553. His name is variously written O'Cuilêin, O'Coileâin, O'Cullen ; while he led a secular life, he was called O'Cullen, as he was chief of his nation or, as Nieremberg calls him in Spanish, *Capitan de su pueblo.* When he entered religion as a humble lay-brother, he dropped the O, and was called Dominic Collins. By his parents, who were excellent Catholics, he was well grounded in our holy Faith and in the practices of piety, and during his whole life he gave proof of the deep impression made on him by the early influence of his pious father and mother, and by the education which it appears he received in the Jesuit school at Youghal.

When he reached the age of manhood, he went to France for the sake of more easily preserving his faith; and through a generous desire of defending the Catholic religion in that country he resolved to adopt a military career and to fight against the Calvinists who at that time were waging war against Catholicism with the sword as well as with the voice and pen. So his various biographers tell us ; but he gives a somewhat different and more circumstantial account himself in his examination before the Lord President of Munster.

His statements, elicited perhaps with the help of the rack or thumbscrew or other instrument of torture, are found in "The Examination of Dominic Collins, a Jesuyte and now prisoner, taken before me, the President, at Cork on July 9, 1602.[1] He sayeth, that being of the age of thirty-three

[1] State Papers, *Ireland Eliz.* 1602, bundle 207. I owe the knowledge of this paper to H. Foley, S.J.

years[1] about some sixteen years past, he departed from Youghall in a bark of that town and landed at Sable d'Olonne in Poitou, from whence he travelled overland to Nantes in Britany, where he remained as a servant in two several inn-houses some three years. And then, having got some money into his purse to furnish himself somewhat fitly for the wars, he betook himself to that course and served on horseback under several captains, with the League under the Duke de Mercoeur some eight or nine years, of whom Monsieur Fontenelles[2] was the last in whose troop he remained three years or thereabouts; and was called by the French Capitaine de la Branche." In those wars he served as a good captain of cavalry, and was remarkable for his great stature, manly beauty, and courage.[3] The sundry biographies of O'Cullen say that he was in the service of the French King, and therein they are mistaken; for it was under the banner of Philip Emmanuel de Vaudemont, Duke de Mercoeur, brother-in-law and enemy of the King, and a valiant captain, that he saw some hard fighting, shared in several victories, and saw his general defeated once by the Prince de Conti, and again by Henry of Navarre. We think it very improbable that an Irish chief, who like others of his position was brought up to war from his boyhood, would become a servant in an inn-house at Nantes; and we more than suspect that Carew,

[1] Perhaps this should be twenty-three years; his biographers say he was a commander of horse at the age of twenty-two.

[2] Called the terrible Guy-Eder de la Fontenelle in the *Biographie Univ.* under "Mercoeur."

[3] "Inter primarios duces meruit . . . licet non annos amplius 22 natus erat unius Centuriæ cum laude fortitudinis Ductor specie et statura visenda."

who was a well-known assassin,[1] had no hesitation in forging that part of the examination. When the war of the League came to an end, and peace was made between de Mercoeur and Henry the Fourth, O'Cullen went in search of other service, and passed into Spain,[2] where we was taken into the army of the Catholic King, and got a position suitable to his birth and merits. To this step he was impelled by a desire of military glory, and no doubt by a hope of returning to Ireland with a Spanish armada. "He procured letters from Don Juan del Aguila, Commander of the Spanish Army in France, and went directly into Spain, arriving first at a small creek not far from St. Sebastian's; and with his letters from Don Juan he went to the King, who by the means of the Bishop of Clonfert, who came over to Kinsale with Don Juan and died there, gave him a pension of twenty-five crowns a month, which he held a twelvemonth or thereabouts."[3] His biographers tell us that he was made *Capitan de la Armada Real* at Coruña; but their assertion, that he spent eight years in that port, is in conflict with his own statement as recorded by Carew.

While at Coruña he turned his attention more closely than heretofore to the practice of piety, and, being free from the cares of war, he pondered over in his heart the vanity of transitory things and the inanity of human glory, and he began to realize

[1] "Carew has left to posterity in his own handwriting that he had hired men to do murder; and he had himself with his own hand done it." (*Life of MacCarthy Môr*, p. 114, and *passim.*)

[2] He is said to have served also in Belgium. See *Imago Primi Sæculi, S.J.* pp. 535, 860.

[3] Examination of D. Collins. Cfr. note p. 83.

the deep sense of joy, happiness, and hope which is found in serving under the standard of Jesus Christ. In order to wage war on the devil, the world, and the flesh, he led a life far different from that free and easy way of the military men of his time; he frequently approached those sources of grace and spiritual life, the Sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist, he gave himself up to the reading of instructive and edifying books and to the daily meditation of Divine things, while he was a model of attention to his military duties; and he kept his body under subjection by fasting and many and continual corporal austerities. As he continued this pious mode of life, he began by degrees to feel a desire to lead a life of still greater severity, and to view things of the other world in a different light. Nothing seemed to him high or exalted but what was of Heaven; on the other hand, everything that fortune holds out to ambitious minds seemed to him only worthy of contempt. Having made up his mind then to enlist under the banner of Christ as his leader, he examined the Orders fighting for Him, to see in which of them he should enrol himself. First he was attracted by the mortified life of the Discalced Franciscans, and by the strict observance of the Order of Preachers throughout Spain; both these Orders, knowing his dispositions, would have conferred on him the order of the priesthood. But having recommended the matter to God long and earnestly, and having weighed all the reasons carefully, he determined to enter the lowly Society of Jesus, and to ask admittance as a humble Temporal

Coadjutor, as though he were unworthy of the rank of a priest or unfit for it.[1]

Dominic says in his examination, that "meeting with one Thomas White of Clonmel (who is Rector of the College of the Irish Seminary in Salamanca), by his persuasion he surrendered his pension and professed himself a Jesuit, remaining in a College of Jesuits at St. James in Galicia about three years." Father White was a man of rare piety and prudence, whose whole life, says Nieremberg, was of such interest that it deserves to be written out fully and in the minutest detail.[2] When consulted by O'Cullen he recommended him to enter the Order of the Dominicans or Discalced Franciscans, as he thought him not suited for the humble and meritorious labours of a Temporal Coadjutor of the Society. Considering the splendour of his birth,[3] the symmetry and size of his powerful frame,[4] which for beauty and stature was unsurpassed at that time in the Peninsula;[5] considering his taste in dress and his daily society with illustrious persons, White fancied that his countryman would not be fit for the hard every-day work of a lay-brother. O'Cullen assured him, that he had long and duly considered all these things; that he had learned to dislike the light and blaze of the world; that he had resolved to serve God in the shade and obscurity of a lowly hard-working life; and that the very difficulties and hardships put

[1] Nieremberg, Jouvancy, Tanner, in their accounts of Br. Collins.
[2] See the sketch of Father White, *supra.*
[3] La nobleza del Capitan.
[4] "Proceri corporis et formæ elegantia (Alegambe); corporis proceri dignitas (Jouvancy); egregius dux equitatus specie et statura visenda." (Annual Letters of Compostella of year 1603.)
[5] So says Nieremberg.

before him by Father White only intensified his desire to embrace the religious life of a coadjutor. The Jesuit Superiors, however, for the sake of testing or confirming his vocation, thought it prudent to defer his admittance for a year; and even at the end of that time, though they were quite willing to receive him as a scholastic and promote him to the priesthood, he still persisted in his former resolution. They still hesitated as they were so struck by his dignified and lofty bearing, which was the result of distinguished birth and military training, that they were afraid his perseverance would not bear the strain of the humble condition which was the object of his fervent desires. They advised him again to join some other religious order; but he prayed to God that his wish might be granted, and so continued to urge the Superiors to receive him, that at last he obtained their consent. He intimated this to his superior officer, the Adelantado of Castile, who was then in command of the Armada which was preparing to go to the help of the Irish Catholics. The Adelantado, who held O'Cullen in great esteem, pressed him to change his mind; other officers of the army urged him to remain with them to help in the deliverance of his native land; while some expressed their admiration of his courageous and religious resolve. At that time[1] it required nothing less than heroic virtue to take such a step, which under the circumstances

[1] O'Cullen had then heard of the great overthrow of the English at Blackwater, where Marshal Bagenal, thirty-three officers, and two thousand soldiers were slain by O'Neill on the 14th of August. This "Ill Newse out of Ireland" was published in London soon after the fight.

would have been attributed to cowardice had he not been universally recognized as a man without fear and without reproach. Yet it is not probable that, in the tiresome delays thrown in the way of his vocation, this thought did not often rise up as an insuperable obstacle to that vocation, an obstacle which nothing but the grace of God could have overcome in the naturally proud and martial spirit of this Irish chief. He bid adieu to his brother officers, and attended by some friends and servants he went to St. James of Compostella, where he was received into the house of the Society on Tuesday, the feast of the Immaculate Conception, December 8, 1598, at the age of thirty-one, as his biographers say, but at the age of forty-three, as we gather from his examination as reported by the Lord President of Munster.

The Fathers of that house shared the fears of Father White that the new condition of life would not suit a man of his position and antecedents; but they soon felt their misgivings fade away in the light of his words and still more of his actions. He assured them that, even if he excelled the greatest divines in learning, he would choose the life of a coadjutor, to which he felt called by Almighty God; and he set to work at once, and while still wearing for two months his costly secular or military dress he performed all the duties of his new position.

At that time a highly contagious or infectious disease suddenly broke out in the College of Compostella, and he attended the sick most diligently, and sought out the lowest and meanest duties with as much eagerness as he had formerly

coveted rank and dignities. He passed through all the tests of the novitiate, served as Refectorian in the College, and finally made his religious vows on February 4, 1601. Thus he devoted himself with fervour and assiduity to his hard and humble work; but was sometimes allowed by his Superiors to spend whole days in communion with God. A year after his religious vows, his quiet life was broken in on by an order to go to Ireland as companion to a fervent and apostolic Jesuit, named Father James Archer, whom Don Juan del Aguila had selected as his spiritual director in the expedition to Ireland. The holy Brother was chosen for this arduous mission, as by his training in the world and in religion he was well fitted to render service to the sailors and soldiers as well as to his countrymen. When bidding farewell to his brethren at Compostella, he told them his great desire was to suffer a great deal for the name of Jesus Christ. Being well acquainted with the ways of sailors and soldiers, he was well qualified to further the glory of God and the good of souls; and during the voyage he exerted his zeal in caring both the bodies and souls of the people of the ship; attending on the sick day and night like a servant, and exhorting them to patience; urging on those who were in good health the practice of virtue, a horror of vice and the use of the sacraments. Yet he did not allow himself to be wholly taken up or absorbed by these duties; he kept his soul united with God just as if he was in the retirement of a College, and he continued his practices of mortification both at sea and when he landed in Ireland, just as if he had no external

labours to perform; and by these voluntary mortifications he prepared himself to meet with courage the very great hardships and sufferings which he was destined to endure at the hands of the enemies of the Faith.

Brother Dominic's account of this passage of his life runs thus: "At that College of St. James, when I left it, were remaining two young men of Ireland, professed Jesuits; the one named Richard Walshe, son to one Robert, or Richard, Walshe of Waterford; and the other, one John Lee, son to Walter Lee of Kilkenny. Father James Archer procured the Superior of the Jesuits of Castile to command this examinate to go with him as companion in the holy entreprise[1] of Ireland, though he had never seen him till of late here in Munster; for he came not at once with Don Juan and Archer, but with the supplies that came with Señor Jago to Castlehaven. He saith that he came from Castlehaven to Tirone's camp and was lodged with O'Sulyvan Beare; and after the overthrow given to Tirone and the Spaniards near Kinsale, he remained among his friends in Munster. Being asked what letters he brought into Ireland and to whom, he answereth that he brought three letters, which contained nothing else, as he confidently affirms, but his particular commendation and the cause why he was sent—which was, to be Father Archer's companion. Being demanded, when and where he first met with the Jesuit Archer after his arrival at Castlehaven, he sayeth that about the beginning of

[1] *Holy* seems an interpolation by Carew; though no doubt Dominic thought it holy.

February last he met with Archer at a castle called Gortnacloghy, near Castlehaven, and that ever since, till the day of the Lord President's arrival with his forces against the Castle of Dunboy, he hath remained as a fellow with him, which said day Archer went from Dunboy, and since then he hath not seen him." And so continues his *Examination*, which would cover about eight or nine pages of this volume, and was no doubt carried on with the help of the rack, the thumbscrew, or other torture.

We get an account of Brother Collins' fortunes at Dunboy from his enemies. In the *Pacata Hibernia*, written or dictated by the Lord President Carew,[1] we read: "On June 6, 1602, all our army landed, nevertheless the Irish came on bravely, but our falcons made them halt. . . . There were only two prisoners taken and presently hanged, whereof a servant of James Archer, the Jesuit, was one; and, if the Jesuit himself had not been a light-footed priest, he had fallen into our hands, and yet as nimble as he was he escaped with much difficulty." Carew also gives a number of letters purporting to be written to the besieged, but which, we shall presently see, are either forged or garbled. One of these is supposed to be written by Bishop MacEgan to Richard MacGeoghegan, who commanded the ward of Dunboy Castle, consisting of one hundred and forty-three of O'Sullivan's soldiers. He ends the letter by the words, "Commend me to Father Dominic."[2]

[1] Moore's *Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iv. p. 141.

[2] It is very unlikely that a bishop would speak of a lay-brother as *Father* Dominic, or that such letters as these should be found among the ruins.

Another purports to be from Father Archer to Brother Collins: "Your letter of Thursday came to our hands . . . be ye of heroic minds . . . there are but two ways to attempt you, that is, scaling with ladders, or battery. For scaling, I doubt not but your own wits need no direction; and for battery, you may make up the work at night." John Anias writes to him: "Be careful of your fortifying continually . . . what battery is made, suddenly repair it like valiant soldiers. . . . Devise yourselves all the invention possible to hold out this siege, which is the greatest honour in the kingdom. . . . Salute in my name Richard MacGeoghegan. Your loving cousin, John Anias. To Father Dominic, Berehaven, these." Carew writes:

"On the 17th of June the gabions, trenches, and platforms were finished, and at 5 a.m. our battery of one demi-cannon, two culverings, and one demi-culvering, played without intermission till 9 a.m., when a turret annexed to the castle fell down, and with it a falcon of iron which continually played at our artillery; and many of the Irish were buried in the ruins. At 1 p.m. the ordnance had battered down the west front of the castle, and the Lord President's regiment gave the assault, seconded by the regiment of (O'Brien) the Earl of Thomond, while the regiments of Percy and Wilmot stood in arms in the market-place. The Irish were forced to retreat under the safety of the east post of the castle, which was standing, which *place they so well defended that for an hour and a half* it was disputed with great obstinacy on either side. . . . Many of our men were slain or wounded, and we oppressing them by all means we might,

and still attempting to get to the top of the vault, we were divers times forced down again. By a way we discovered we made a descent on the enemy, and gained ground. They being in a desperate case, some forty of them made a sally out of the castle to the seaside, and were all slain, except eight who jumped into the sea and were slain by our seamen ; three leapt from the top of the vault and were slain by our soldiers, among them being a notable rebel called Melaghlen Moore, who had plucked the Earl of Ormond from his horse.

" The courage of the Irish decreasing with their numbers, we gave a new assault to the top of the vault, our shot from the foot of the breach giving us good assistance, and, *after some hours' assault and defence*, with some loss on both sides, we gained the top of the vault and placed our colours on the castle. The remainder of the ward retired into the cellars and defended the same against us. When the seventy-seven Irish were constrained to retire into them and defended the same against us, upon promise of their lives they offered to come forth, but not to stand to mercy. *Notwithstanding*, *immediately after*, a Fryer born in Youghal, called Dominic Collins, who had been brought up in the wars of France, and then, under the League, had been a commander of horse in Britany (by them called Captaine la Branch), came forth and *rendered himself*, the sun being by this time set, and strong guards being left upon the rebels remaining in the cellar, the regiments withdrawn to the camp. The 18th, in the morning, twenty-three surrendered simply. MacGeoghegan,

Chief Commander of the place, being mortally wounded with divers shots in his body, the rest made choice of one Taylor, an Englishman's son (the dearest and inwardest man with Captain Tirrell, and married to his niece), to be their Chief; who, having nine barrels of powder, drew himself and it into the vault, and there sat down by it, with a lighted match in his hand, vowing to set it on fire and blow up the castle, himself, and all the rest, except they had promise of life. The Lord President, for the safety of our men, gave directions for a new battery to bury them in the ruins. The bullets entering among them into the cellar, the rest being forty-eight in number, by intercession, but chiefly by compulsion, constrained them to surrender at 10 a.m. on the 18th. As the English entered the vault to receive them, Richard MacGeoghegan, lying there mortally wounded, and perceiving Taylor and the rest ready to render themselves, raised himself from the ground, snatching a lighted candle and staggering therewith to a barrel of powder (which for that purpose was unheaded) and offering to cast it into the same, Captain Power took him and held him in his arms with intent to make him prisoner, until he was by our men instantly killed. So obstinate and resolved a defence had not been seen in this kingdom."[1]

What Carew and his secretary, Stafford, tell us of the heroism of the Irish we may safely believe; everything else we must receive with caution as

[1] *Hibernia Pacata*, p. 574. The rebellion in Munster was now stamped out with awful ferocity. Carew's flying columns laid waste the whole country, "not leaving behind man or beast, corn or cattle." (Walpole's *Kingdom of Ireland*, p. 166.)

coming from a tainted source. We have no hesitation in saying that they were guilty of falsehood in their account of Brother Collins. His whole life gives the lie to their assertions. He was as brave as any man in the castle; he was a profoundly religious man, full of zeal for souls and anxious to console the dying in their last moments by helping them to make acts of faith, hope, charity, and contrition; he was fearless of death, and it is incredible that he would abandon the warders in their hour of need, and "came forth and rendered himself," even if the brave warders would have let him do so. Besides he knew he could expect no mercy, though he was a non-combatant; for he was an Irish Jesuit, he was the companion of Father Archer, whom the English were most anxious to hang; he was chief of the O'Cullens, and his property was in the hands of the rapacious Richard Boyle, who would have used his great influence to get O'Cullen put out of the way. The facts are thus stated, and, we believe, truly, by the biographers of Brother Collins: that when MacGeoghegan was mortally wounded, and Taylor took his place, the besiegers promised to spare the warders' lives, if the castle was surrendered; and Dominic O'Cullen was selected to go out to settle the terms. But he was put in chains by the heretics, contrary to the law of nations, and in violation of their oath. For the besiegers had guaranteed the safety of all who defended the castle if they surrendered it; and had given a pledge, ratified by oath, into the hands of Dominic himself, who had proposed the terms of peace and was the messenger of the besieged. To have

seized a Jesuit they supposed would save them from the indelible stain of treachery, and from the crime of perjury. He was taken by a company of soldiers to Cork, his hands tied behind his back. There he was shut up in the common prison by order of Sir George Carew, the President of Munster, a most bitter enemy of the Catholics.[1]

Such breaches of faith were not uncommon in the case of Irish surrenders ; they are recorded in the pages of Irish history, and are set forth at some length in Dr. Lynch's *Cambrensis Eversus*, ch. xxviii., where he says: "If an English officer besieged a fort, and the besieged, either wearied by protracted assaults, or in want of provisions, were compelled to treat for honourable conditions, and obtained full liberty to depart, as soon as they abandoned their fortress, they found that they had walked into the jaws of death." We do not care to dwell on many instances of the treachery and cruelty of Carew and his colonels, whose perfidies were in striking contrast to the upright conduct of General Sir Conyers Clifford, who fought fiercely to the death against the Irish at the battle of the Curlew Mountains, and yet, on account of his rare integrity, was bewailed by them with tears, and was buried by them with the greatest honour in the Abbey of Sligo.

Carew, in the detailed accounts which he gives of Dunboy, does not say or hint that Brother Collins took any active part in the stubborn defence ; and hence we may conclude that with great self-denial he heroically confined himself to

[1] Major O'Reilly's *Irish Martyrs and Confessors*, p. 147. Jouvancy, Alegambe, O'Sullivan Beare, and others.

attending to the bodily and spiritual comfort of the wounded and dying. If he had yielded to his martial ardour, a man of his powerful build and skill in fight would have given a good account of himself, and would have been mentioned as well as MacGeoghegan, Taylor, and Melaghlin O'Moore; he would have been in the very front of the battle, and would not have been "taken in arms;" and like MacGeoghegan, he would have been "mortally wounded with divers shot in his body," the gigantic form of which would have presented a good mark for the musketeers. It is clear that he was a non-combatant, and yet by his enemies he was reported to his Superior in Dublin, Father de la Field, S.J., as *having been taken in arms and fighting*. We know even from Carew that this was false. Father de la Field, a gentleman of the English pale, whose sympathies were naturally and perhaps very properly on the English side,[1] writes from Dublin to Father General Aquaviva: "Our *Dominic is taken armed and fighting*,[2] is put in chains; and, when neither by threats or promises he could not be moved to give up his religious profession, and the Catholic faith, or the Irish cause, in order to pass into the service of the Queen, he is hanged on the 3rd of October, and his death gives the greatest edification, and is witnessed and bewailed with tears by nearly all the citizens of Cork."[3] Here Dominic's conduct at Dunboy, and the date and place of

[1] O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, MacCarthy Reagh, MacCarthy of Carbery, Barry More, the White Knight, O'Donovan, and other Irish nobles and gentlemen were amongst the besiegers.

[2] "Noster *Dominicus armatus et pugnans* capitur." The words are underlined in the manuscript.

[3] *Ibernia Ignatiana*, p. 110.

his execution are misstated by the Dublin Jesuit, and he is unconsciously misrepresented to his Superior in Rome, who, however, at the same time got quite a different account in a Portuguese letter written from Ireland by an Irish Jesuit, wherein is given a sketch of the life and death of "our martyr O'Coulen"—*nosso martyr O'Coulen.* This letter is the earliest and most authentic account of the martyr. We shall give a translation of it at the end of our sketch, to which it may serve as a summary and supplement.

When Brother Dominic Collins was captured at Dunboy, he was kept in custody for some time before his execution. "The fryer and Taylor were reserved alive by the Lord President, to trie whether he could draw them to do some acceptable service, and they were carried prisoners to Cork." On the 13th of July Carew writes to the Lord Deputy: "Dominic Collins I find more open-hearted than the rest. I send enclosed his examination; the which, although it do not merit any great favour, yet because he hath had so long education in France and Spain, and that it may be that your lordship heretofore, by some other examinations, have had some knowledge of him, whereby some benefit to the State may be made, I respite his execution till your further pleasure be signified."[1]

The Deputy's further pleasure was signified, and in October, "Taylor was hanged in chains not far from the north gate of Cork, and the fryer, in whom no penitence appeared for his detestable treasons, nor yet would endeavour to merit his life

[1] *Cal. Carew MSS.* an. 1602.

either by discovering the rebels' intentions (which was in his power), or by doing of some service that might deserve favour, was hanged at Youghal, wherein he was born."[1]

Carew says he "reserved Collins alive to trie whether he could draw him to do some acceptable service;" and he further asserts that Collins would not endeavour to merit his life by doing some service that might deserve favour. What this *service* was we learn from Thomas Moore,[2] who, however, was not aware that Taylor and Brother Collins were "reserved alive," and refused "to be drawn to such service." He says, that on the surrender of Dunboy, "fifty-eight of the ward were executed in the market-place; and of the whole number, amounting to one hundred and forty-three 'selected fighting men,' not a single one escaped, all were either slain, executed, or buried among the ruins. To embroil the chieftains with each other, and thus weaken them by their dissensions, was another of the arts of misrule in which English Viceroys became proficients; and it may even be suspected,[3] from some dark hints in a letter of the Queen's about this time, that those services were not always bloodless, by which the new liegemen of the English crown now earned their adoption of that privilege. 'None is to be pardoned,' says the royal writer, 'but upon service done, and not only upon those they particularly hated, but upon any

[1] *Hib. Pacata*, p. 578.
[2] *Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iv. pp. 141, 143.
[3] It is certain from the Calendars of State Papers published since Moore penned his History. It was certain even before; but "the bard of all circles and the delight of his own," did not wish to say so.

other, as they shall be directed.'" The plain English of all this is, that O'Cullen was asked to cut the throat of O'Sullivan Beare, or O'Sullivan Môr, or some other Irish lord or chieftain ; and this, as an Irish chief, a soldier, a man of honour and conscience, and a religious, he absolutely refused to do. When good Queen Bess, whom Moore calls "the royal writer," ventured to propose to the Earl of Ormond and Ossory a certain way of serving Her Majesty, he wrote to Sussex or Burghley: "The claws of the Queen's letter, wherein she willeth the persons to be kept in sure hold, seemeth *veray strange* unto me, they having afore, according to Her Majesty's instructions, delivered pledges, done good service, and put in assurance of their loyalties. My lord, I wol *never use trechery to any ; for it wol both toche Her Highness' honour too much,* and mine own credit; and whosoever gave the Queene advice thus to write is fitter to execute such *base sarvice* than I am. Saving my dutie to her Majestie, I wold I weare to have revenge by my sword of any man that thus persuadeth the Queen to *write to me.*"[1]

The Queen some years afterwards was again easily persuaded to write to him to use his intimacy with O'Neil in order to entrap him. His lordship answered: "I have been employed by Her Majestie in many sarvices . . . all which, I thank God, I have performed without using *unhonest and filthy* practices. If my thanks shall be to be put to execute trechery, my fortune is bad, and the sarvice much better for such as devised the same than for

[1] *Life and Letters of MacCarthy Môr*, p. 329.

me that never had, thank God, a thought of such matter. I protest before God," &c.[1]

This Earl of Ormond had been brought up in heresy at the English Court, was a favourite of Queen Elizabeth, and had done all in his power to bring about the ruin of the house of Desmond, which he ultimately accomplished. But from these letters it is clear that he was a man of honour. He was converted to the Catholic faith, soon after the death of Brother Collins, by the Jesuit Fathers, Walter Wall and Brian O'Kearney. From the first of his letters we may gather that even if Dominic Collins had rendered the "acceptable sarvice," Elizabeth would have written to her officials in Ireland "to keep him in sure hold." But, as we have seen, he peremptorily refused to execute what Ormond calls "such base sarvice to execute trechery, and to use unhonest and filthy practices." He was kept in chains for three months and a half in Cork, in the prison of common criminals; in that loathsome place he led a heavenly life, lightening its miseries by voluntary corporal mortifications, by constant communings with God in prayer and meditation, and by exercising the zeal of his religious Institute in preaching to heretics by word and example. When the time of the assizes came on he appeared before his judges in the habit of a Jesuit coadjutor, which he had brought with him from Compostella, and which he had been accustomed to wear when working in the refectory and kitchen. He donned this dress in order to show that he was to be condemned for the

[1] "The Taking of the Earl of Ormond," published in the *Kilkenny Journal of Archæology*, vol. iii. p. 423.

Catholic faith and for the religious profession of a Jesuit. So it appears that in those days there was no prison dress, and that Carew, who did not shrink from murder and other deeds of darkness, did not think of getting his habit torn off his back.

The biographers say, that Mountjoy, the Lord Deputy, who was a deadly enemy of the Catholic faith, presided at the trial; but we deem it more probable that it was Carew, the Lord President of Munster.

When brought from prison before his judges, Dominic professed himself a Catholic and a member of the Society of Jesus. He was promised a command in the army if he would do *some acceptable service;* he refused to do anything so abominable. He was offered preferment in the Protestant Church if he renounced his faith and religious profession, and he rejected the proposal. He was threatened with the direst torments and with death, if he did not yield; and he told his enemies that he could not serve two masters, and preferred to suffer and die for Christ rather than renounce his religious profession or do anything against his conscience. When he could not be won by promises or threats, he was sent back to prison, and his relatives and friends were prevailed on to visit him, and try and shake his constancy. These "friends," who were, we believe, the MacCarthys, O'Hurleys and De Courcys, besought him, for his own and his sister's[1] sake, to temporize, and not

[1] Randal O'Hurley, her son, and Dominic's nephew, was brother-in-law of De Courcy, eighteenth Baron of Kinsale, who fought on the English side at Kinsale; this Baron's mother was also an O'Hurley.

to bring ruin on himself and disgrace on an illustrious family. They suggested to him, that he might remain a Catholic at heart and outwardly conform for a time, in order to please the humours of the Queen ; and that he could afterwards find a way of escaping (to Spain), where he could practise his religion in freedom. "Nay," said he, "what I am I will ever, even to death, profess myself to be."

When neither the fair promises or dire threats of his enemies, nor the wily pleadings of his friends availed to shake him in his resolve to live and die in the Catholic Faith and in the Society of Jesus, he was sentenced to be hanged, to have his entrails torn out while he was still alive, and have his body cut in quarters. He received this sentence with composure calm and pure, and even with joy; and, being taken back to prison, awaited his deliverance with a transport of delight which had its source in a lively faith, and in the great hope, which he had expressed at Compostella and had cherished[1] ever since, of receiving the crown of martyrdom. This masterful self-possession, and the rapturous happiness which radiated from his heart over his countenance, so irritated his enemies that he was put to the torture repeatedly during the days previous to his execution,[2] a thing which is contrary to all human and Divine law. He bore these dreadful torments as if they were a pleasure

[1] "Tinha grandissimo desejo da martyrio." (Portuguese letter written from Clonmel on March 30, 1603, to Dominic's friend, Father Thomas White, who knew all the secrets of his soul.)

[2] "Antea tamen cruciatu repetito labefactare invictum pectus, at frustra, tentavit Montjoyus" (Jouvancy); "Jussit eum Montjoyus barbara immanitate torqueri per dies supplicio prævios" (Alegambe); "Recibi todo genero de penalidades y malos attramientos." (Nieremberg.)

to him, and he was thankful for them as for special favours from Heaven.

His tormentors were so maddened at his sublime patience and power of suffering that they sent him to the gallows before the time fixed by the sentence of death, and hanged him on the 31st of October, 1602, even the Lord's day, for which Protestants profess so much respect. He was led out from Cork amidst the prayers and tears of nearly all the citizens, and was conducted by soldiers to Youghal with his hands tied behind his back and a halter round his neck. On his way to the place of execution he kept before his mind the picture of our Lord going from Jerusalem to Calvary; he walked with great modesty and composure, his eyes fixed on heaven, his thoughts intent on God, his bearing dignified and showing great self-possession. When he saw the gallows he saluted it with tender affection, and when he reached it he knelt down and kissed it, and then prayed to God for himself and his fatherland, and, after the example of the martyrs, he prayed also for the Queen and all his enemies. He then with great alacrity and a steady step went up the ladder. Standing on its top as if in a pulpit (for he was dressed in the ordinary habit of the Society), he began more zealously than ever before to exhort the Catholics to preserve the faith with constancy till death, to be on their guard against the threats and promises of the Queen, the wrath of her ministers, and the wiles of the heretics; and he concluded thus: "Look up to heaven, and be not unworthy of your ancestors who boldly professed the faith; do you too uphold it. In defence of it I desire to give up

my life to-day." These were the last words uttered by Dominic; they were most effective in encouraging the Catholics; uttered in that place and at that solemn moment by one of high birth who had shown contempt for worldly goods, they fell like a thunderbolt on the ears even of the heretics. The officers perceiving the effect of these words on the bystanders, and fearing that the crowd might be still more confirmed in their hatred of heresy, ordered him to be thrown off the ladder. He was but a short time hanging on the gallows, and still breathing and his breast heaving, when the executioner, in punishment of his bold profession of the Catholic religion, disembowelled him, cut his body in quarters, and tearing out his heart held it up to the people, uttering aloud the usual formula, "God save the Queen." The Queen did not live long after the execution of Dominic Collins; she went soon before the judgment-seat of God to account for all the innocent blood she had shed in England and Ireland, and all "the base, filthy and unhonest sarvices and practices" which she had ordered her servants to perform in Ireland and elsewhere.

The holy soul of Dominic went to be crowned in Heaven with the diadem of Martyrs on October 31,[1] 1602, in the thirty-fifth year of his age,[2] and the fourth year of his religious profession. His head was probably put on a spike, as was usual in those times; "his mangled and holy remains were collected with piety, reverence, and affection by the people of Youghal, and were religiously buried in a

[1] This was on Sunday according to most writers; but Nieremberg says "the day of his martyrdom was Thursday," and so it was according to the New Style.

[2] Rather the forty-ninth, if my copy of the Examination is correct.

chapel [1] close to the gate at which he was hanged. In that chapel he is honoured by the veneration of the faithful, and, as the Catholics affirm, he is glorified by God, who works miracles there at his intercession." This churchyard must be well known to the inhabitants of Youghal, and perhaps they might find the body in the ruined chapel, and identify it by its being headless and by the large size of the bones, as in the account written soon after his death by his friends of Compostella it is said that his great stature was a thing to look at—*statura visenda.* By his many biographers he is called a martyr; but he is so styled specially in the very earliest account [2] we have of him, written in Portuguese to his dear friend Father White by the Jesuits Leynach and Morony five months after his execution. It is very short and simple, and may serve as a summary and supplement of the sketch which we have already given:

OUR MARTYR.

Our Brother, who was a native of Yochiel, was born of very good parents, and served about seven years in the wars of France. For which and for being a man experienced in military matters, he got a very good reception in Spain. In spite of that he felt moved by God to become a coadjutor of our Society, and served with the greatest edification as refectorian in the College of Santiago; and we believe it was to his fidelity in the accomplishment of his lowly duties that he owed the crown of martyrdom which he ardently longed for. He was taken from the kitchen, and sent to be companion of Father Archer in Ireland. When the castle, in which

[1] "Los Catolicos sepultaron el santo cuerpo en una *Hermita* fuero de los muros de la ciudad, junto à la *puerte* donde fué ahorcado." (Nieremberg.)

[2] Roman Archives, S.J., vol. *Anglia MSS.* 1590—1615.

he was, was besieged by the heretics, they promised him his life if he persuaded the warders to yield; and yet when they understood he was a religious, they broke their word. The greatness of soul and the constancy with which this Brother suffered death has caused the greatest admiration in the minds of all. He delivered an address with a loud voice while on his knees at the foot of the gallows: "Hail, holy cross, so long looked for and desired by me! How dear to me this hour, for which I have yearned since I put on this habit and have belonged to the Society of Jesus, earnestly asking for it every day, and never obtaining my request till this day! O happy day!" Then, turning to the ministers of justice, he said to them with great seriousness and serenity: "You think you have only to go on as you are doing, eating and drinking and gratifying your vain desires. Understand, then, that you are deceived therein. And you can see that in me: I had and could have continued to have many of those things you desire and ambition, and even much more than you. But I gave up all to become a poor religious and wear the habit in which you see me. For which I give many and fervent thanks to my God and Lord." His words struck the bystanders to the heart, and made nearly all of them shed tears. Some notable things happened at his execution. When he was thrown off the ladder, the rope, which was thick and strong enough to hold a ship, snapped; and, what is more remarkable, he fell on his knees, as if he were in prayer, with his eyes fixed on heaven. This Brother was named O'Coulen, and he was the first martyr of the Society in this land; but if things go on as at present, he will soon have companions. From the cruelty with which these heretics, in their diabolical fury, have treated this servant of God for being a religious, we doubt not but that they would treat us in the same manner if they could get us into their hands. . . .

From Clonmel, March the 3rd, 1603.

NICHOLAS LEYNACH and ANDREW MORONY, S.J.

Our readers may have remarked that even Brother Dominic's enemies speak of him with

respect, and even, perhaps, with a certain feeling of admiration. They seem also to have been struck with the manly beauty of his face and to have taken his likeness, as at p. 34 of Bromley's *Catalogue of engraved English Portraits* there is mentioned "a small head of Dominic Collins, Jesuit, who died in 1602." There is also in Tanner's *Societas Jesu militans*,[1] an engraving representing the martyrdom of Brother Collins. It may be only a fancy sketch; but as we hope to see this holy martyr beatified in our own lifetime, and we know that the matter has been placed in the hands of an energetic, erudite, and researchful Irish Jesuit, it is probable that the "small head of Dominic Collins" and his large bones will be discovered. His claim to the title of martyr will, we think, be fully established. The only things "the devil's advocate" could advance are (1) that he was caught in the company of "rebells." But those whom the English chose to call by that name were styled by them even in the sixteenth century as *the Irisshe enemie;* and besides the Irish princes and lords ceased to be independent only after the fight at Dunboy which ended the Fifteen Years' War. (2) It may be said that he should not have been in the Castle of Dunboy. But whither should he go? If he "rendered himself" to the English, he would have been asked under pain of death, to cut the throats of his countrymen, to deny his religion, and abandon religious life. (3) It may be urged that he was taken in arms. This is a false report of his enemies which reached De la Field

[1] Also in *Imagines Confessorum, S.J.* and D'Oultreman's *Personnages Signalés, S.J.*, and in a *Tabula incisa Romæ.*

in Dublin, and is disproved by the significant silence on this head (i) of the English record of his Examination, (ii) of Carew's and Slingby's account of his capture, (iii) of all the many sketches of his life, which also state that he was sent by the survivors of the ward to treat of the terms of surrender. When he, with Christian heroism and humility and in the face of obstacles of every kind, laid aside the sword and his command in the army to become a poor, hardworking coadjutor, tending the sick, a refectorian, a cook, a man-of-all-work, it is in the highest degree improbable that he took it up again in defence of his life against ruthless and merciless enemies. Had he done so, few of our readers would blame him; while many will condemn him, perhaps, for not having thrown himself into the fight with all his heart and soul. It is almost certain that the commander and the warders, whom the well-equipped besiegers outnumbered by twenty to one, must have besought him, who was such a brave, skilful, and powerful officer and swordsman, to lead them in the fight. But he had the courage to enter a religious order to do menial work at Compostella, when the Adelantado of the Spanish and Irish officers of the army and navy pressed him to remain with them and go to Ireland in order to help his countrymen to crush the English Protestant power in Ireland, at a time when, according to Father FitzSimon, who (as we shall see) was a gentleman of the pale of known loyalty to the English crown, the Irish were triumphant everywhere and had almost annihilated the best English army that had ever landed in that island. His whole soul was so filled with the idea that he was

called by God to a religious life of peace, humility, and hard work in imitation of the life of our Lord at Nazareth, that he overbore the opposition of the Jesuits on one side and of the officers of the Spanish army and navy on the other; and from all the information at our disposal and from all the known circumstances of his four years of religious life, we are convinced that the exalted and dominant idea he had of his vocation made him stifle all the promptings of his old martial spirit and turn a deaf ear to all the entreaties of the warders of Dunboy. He confined his attention to the wounded and dying, whom he tended and consoled as he had nursed the plague-stricken at Compostella; and, as his companion, Father Archer, testifies, "while attending the army he contrived to live with as much recollection as if he were in the solitude of a religious cell."

(4) It may be thought that the two letters written to him by Archer and Anias, about the way of strengthening the old castle, show that he was a combatant. On that point there may be divergence of opinion among our readers. But (i) the besiegers had not then appeared on the scene; (ii) it does not show that he was in arms, or that he personally worked at propping up the old pile; (iii) if he got such letters, it is not likely he would not have destroyed them, lest they should fall into English hands, as he was a cool-headed man and knew perfectly well from his military experience, that the castle could not hold out when attacked by an overwhelming force on sea and land; (iv) if he had been thoughtless enough to preserve them, it is not likely that they would be

found in that mass of ruins; (v) they are most probably *forgeries:* people were forgers in those times and sent about forged letters of Dominic's Superior, Father Archer, in order to work up the Irish to shun him or even to murder him, as we shall see further on.

(5) Carew says that "the fryer, in whom no penitence appeared for his detestable treasons, was hanged." Yes; but (i) the same thing was said of the Blessed Edmund Campion and others; (ii) "detestable treasons" in the official language of the time was an unmeaning phrase used for rounding a sentence, somewhat like those poetical, insignificant *chevilles* of Irish verse, which so often vex and perplex even such a great Celtic scholar as Mr. Whitley Stokes; (iii) Carew's credit for honesty and veracity is quite cracked, he was one of those "English in Ireland" of whom, says the Blessed Edmund Campion, the great Earl of Kildare declared, that "on their bare words or frantic oaths he would not gage the life of a good hound." And those "detestable treasons," which Carew takes care not to mention, were that he was an Irish Catholic and a Jesuit.

We may brush aside then all these allegations and insinuations of "a devil's advocate," and conclude that Brother Dominic Collins was what he is styled by his contemporaries in and outside the English pale, and by his Irish, Spanish, French, Italian, Belgian, and German biographers, a martyr of the Society of Jesus—*Nosso Martyr O'Coulen.*

The life and death of this holy and heroic man are recorded with more or less of detail in the Portuguese letter of a MS. vol. of the Roman

Archives, S.J., marked *Angliæ Historia* 1590—1615; in the published *Literæ Annuæ Prov. Castellanæ* of 1603; in FitzSimon's *Britannomachia* and *Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniæ;* in the Martyrologium of the Society of Jesus, which is in the Burgundian Library, Brussels; in the German Menology of the Society of Jesus; in the *Processus Martyrialis* of Bishop Rothe, a contemporary writer; in O'Sullevan Beare's *Historia Catholica;* Bruodini *Propugnaculum Catholicæ veritatis;* Molanus; Jouvancy's *Historia S.J.*; Father Nieremberg's *Varones Illustres de la Compañia de Jesus;* in F. de la Field's letter of March, 1503; in Tanner's *Societas Jesu militans;* in D'Oultreman's *Tableaux des Personnages Signalés de la Compagnie de Jesus;* in de Arana's Spanish Hist. of the Soc. of Jesus; in Damianus' *Synopsis Hist. S.J.;* in the *Imago Primi Sæculi, S.J.* pp. 535, 536; in Rho's *Variæ Virtutum Historiæ;* in Elias a St. Theresia's *Legatio Ecclesiæ Triumphantis;* in Oliver's *Collectanea S.J.;* in Foley's *Collectanea S.J.;* in De Coste's *Histoire d'Edmond Campian;* in *Ibernia Ignatiana*, pp. 89 to 102, and in the *Irish Eccles. Record*, vol. x. p. 556, and the following pages.

VI.

FATHER WALTER TALBOT.

When Walter Talbot entered the Novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Tournay in 1595, he wrote down this account of himself: "I, Walter Talbot, was born at Dublin on June 30, 1562, my father was William Talbot, Esquire, who is still alive; my mother was Mary Bermingham, who is deceased in the Lord. I have studied Grammar in Ireland. In the school of the Society at Pont-à-Mousson I have studied Humanities for one year, Rhetoric for one year, Philosophy for three years, and I took the degrees of Master and Doctor in the month of August, 1590. I have received tonsure and minor orders from the Bishop of Metz, and the Orders of subdeacon and deacon from John de Stryan, Bishop of Middleburg, in virtue of an Apostolic Indult granted to Cardinal Allen. I have studied Theology during four years and a half at Louvain, where I attended lectures in the College of the Society. I enter the House of Probation at Tournay, this day, May 10, 1595."[1]

Sir Bernard Burke's *Peerage* enables us to identify Walter Talbot as the fourth son of William Talbot of Malahide, who married Mary, daughter

[1] *Liber Novitiorum Tornac. S.J.*

of Peter Bermingham, Lord Chief-Justice of Ireland, and who possessed the lordships of Malahide, Garristown, Louth, Ashe, and Castlering, with the courts and royalties attached thereto, together with estates in the counties of Waterford and Kilkenny. Walter was the first of eight members of this family who entered the Society, amongst whom his father's three grand-nephews, John, Peter, and Gilbert, S.J., were brothers of the Duke of Tirconnell.

In 1597, Walter became chaplain to an Irish regiment, which was in the service of the King of Spain and was stationed in Belgium. Of his missionary labours the *Brussels Annual Letters* relate: "There are Irish soldiers in the camp, and some English mixed with soldiers of various nationalities. In the year 1597, more than twenty of them were brought to the true fold, and very many have been aggregated to the Sodality of the Most Blessed Sacrament. The musketeers marched in military array, and, to the wonder and admiration of many spectators, laid their banners at the feet of their chaplain to show their great reverence for his person and functions. Most of these soldiers abstained even from white-meats during Lent; many eat nothing but black-bread on Wednesdays and Fridays; they went barefoot to visit holy places, and in a spirit of austerity inflicted such corporal punishment on themselves as to fill with horror those who beheld their works of penance." Albert Dürer had seen Irish soldiers in the Low Countries, and he drew a sketch of five of them which is preserved at Vienna. They are fine, powerfully-built and formidable-looking fellows,

armed with the long sword and the galloglass axe, clad in a mantle of Irish rug, and wearing the Irish glib and moustache which it was forbidden to wear at home under pain of forfeiture, not only of the moustache and glib, but even of the head. The great artist wrote over his drawing, 'Here go the war-men of Ireland.' Here go, then, the war-men of Ireland who know how to fight, not only against the enemies of the Spanish King, but also have learned under the lead of Father Talbot how to wage war on the devil, the world, and the flesh. Their penitential works remind us of the words of Blessed Edmund Campion: 'The Irish, when virtuously bred up or reformed, are such mirrors of holiness and austerity, that all other nations retain but a show or shadow of devotion in comparison to them; as for abstinence or fasting, which these days make so dangerous, this is to them a familiar kind of chastisement.'[1]

In 1598, Father Talbot was stationed with the Irish at Sichem, as we learn from a book entitled, "*Miracles lately wrought by the intercession of the Glorious Virgin Marie at Mont-aigu, near unto Sichem in Brabant.* Translated out of the French copie into English by Mr. Robert Chambers, Priest, and Confessor of the English Religious Dames in the Cittie of Brussels. Printed at Antwerp, 1606." A copy of this tract is in St. Beuno's College Library, St. Asaph. At page 35 we read: "The Curate and Eschevins of Sichem affirm assuredly that in the year 1598, at what time the Irish of the regiment of Sir William Stanley,

[1] *History of Ireland*, Ed. 1809, p. 19.

Colonel, were lodged there, were wont to use no other physic or remedy for their diseases, but to make their prayers at the foresaid place of Montague, amongst whom very many were healed in such sort that Father Walter Talbot, an Irish priest, one of the Society of Jesus (who at that time was their preacher and ghostly Father), was wont oftentimes to say with great admiration, that the place was in a very singular manner chosen by God to advance there His Mother's honour, for which cause he was moved to go thither, sometimes devoutly in procession, accompanied by the sayd Irish, and the townsmen of Sichem, whereof he wrote to Father Thomas Salines, who was the Superior of the Fathers of the Society, which attended upon the Catholic King's army in the Low Countries."[1]

The *Annual Letters of Louvain* of 1602 supply some further details relating to the piety of these Irish soldiers who were in winter-quarters at Sichem: "Father Walter Talbot, one of our military chaplains, had often experienced a peculiar feeling of consolation while praying at the shrine of Our Lady of Montaigu. He was consequently moved to send his soldiers thither often, and especially the sick; and he had the comfort of seeing them come back perfectly cured after a pilgrimage to that holy chapel, which is situated on a rugged hill at a distance of one or two miles. Filled with reverence at the sanctity of the spot, he informed the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the facts he had witnessed, and told them that it was evidently a place chosen for manifesting

[1] H. Foley's *Collectanea, S.J.*, article "Talbot, Walter."

devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and that it would become the most celebrated resort of all Belgium. His words, which were looked on by the peasants as an oracle, were verified, as an immense number of miracles were performed there, many of which we have witnessed with our own eyes. Accounts of these miracles have been published in Flemish, and they have been translated into Latin by the celebrated Justus Lipsius, who wished thereby to give testimony of his faith, and of his devotion to the Mother of God. It is marvellous how soon that hill began to be frequented by crowds of the faithful. All the *noblesse* of the Court of Brussels, and even their Most Serene Highnesses have gone thither; every day the hill was covered with the carriages of the nobles, and the vehicles and horses of pilgrims. From England, Germany, France, Zeland, Holland, and Friesland pilgrims arrive nearly every day; and the heretics, who are eye-witnesses of the miracles, are not only converted themselves, but bring many others to the true Faith. In one day there have been as many as twenty thousand pilgrims present at that holy place."[1]

All these manifestations of piety must have filled the hearts of Father Talbot and his soldiers with gratitude and consolation; but they also brought on him an overwhelming amount of labour under which he soon succumbed. The *Annual Letters of Belgium* tell us that "among the camp missioners of Belgium three Jesuits went to the glory of Heaven in the year 1599. The first was Father

[1] *Lit. Ann. Lovanienses.* 1602. See *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 146.

Walter Talbot, an Irishman, who was thirty-eight years old, and had been four years in the Society. In the camp he reconciled to the Church many men, chiefly of his own nation; many also were those of other countries, whom he brought back to the paths of salvation. He gave high hopes of success in this kind of apostolic work, and he was resolved to persevere in it as long as he had life. But, regardless of his health, he spent two days hearing the confessions of the soldiers, while he was drenched with wet; he thus contracted a violent fever, of which he died at Cassel on August 4, 1599." There were no railways, no steamers in those days, and English ships were on the sea to intercept all correspondence between the Continent and Ireland; and so the news of his glorious death did not reach Dublin for a month, or perhaps months, after its occurrence. His fellow-citizen and brother Jesuit, Henry FitzSimon, wrote to Father General a month afterwards: "I beg of your Paternity to give us some labourers for this vineyard, and I think Father Walter Talbot should be sent to me at once, if it be pleasing to your Paternity." Father FitzSimon, who had been acquainted with him at Dublin and in Belgium, knew something of his virtue, learning, tact, ardent zeal, and other qualities, which eminently fitted him for the difficult and dangerous mission of Ireland; and he was most anxious to secure his services for his afflicted countrymen at home. But God willed otherwise, and took him to receive the reward of his labours. It is not unlikely that Father FitzSimon was reminded of him by the fact that the day before he wrote his letter,

Walter's brother, John, was knighted on the field of battle by the Lord Deputy for distinguished service against the Irish at a time when, as FitzSimon writes, the Irish were everywhere triumphant, and the splendid English army of the Earl of Essex had been almost annihilated.

VII.

FATHER FLORENCE O'MORE.

FLORENCE O'MORE or Moore, was born in the city, or county, or diocese of Armagh,[1] in the year 1550,[2] of Catholic parents, by whom he was piously brought up. He made his classical studies in his own country, and as he grew up he was a model of Christian piety, and had such a love for penitential austerities that he went three times to St. Patrick's Purgatory, where on each occasion he spent nine days in the exercise of the most severe works of penance. In his youth he had the privilege of being a servant of a great servant of God, Dr. Richard Creagh, the Primate of All Ireland, who was imprisoned in the Tower of London in 1564, in the Castle of Dublin in 1567, and again in the Tower of London in 1567, where he was detained for eighteen years, and then poisoned. O'More could scarcely be the Irish boy whom the Primate met begging (as a poor scholar) at Rochester and brought to London in 1564; but he may have attended him in Ireland for one year between May, 1566, and May, 1567, when his Grace was treacherously captured in Connaught. According

[1] He is called "Homo Septentrionalis," "Ultoniensis," "Armachanus."

[2] Irish Catalogue S.J. of the year 1608.

to the *History of the Austrian Province of the Society of Jesus*, O'More "gave his gratuitous service to the Primate for one year while he was in prison." He then went to Paris to pursue his studies, and when crossing the Channel he was betrayed by a Protestant merchant, and narrowly escaped being brought back to the Tower of London.[1]

He was at Paris in 1579, as we learn from Primate Creagh, who at his examination on St. Patrick's Eve, 1579, says: "He hath received certain letters from such as relieve him, containing no other matter than concerneth either relief, books, or some news especially touching the realm of Ireland. And being asked from whom he receiveth the said letters, he saith from one Shan Beg and one Florence, sometimes his servants, the said Florence being now at Paris. He confesseth also that he receiveth relief from Cardinal Morone, which was delivered unto his servant Florence or Segrey, and, as he remembreth, the sum he received was about sixty crowns. He never sent a letter into any foreign parts, but to his servant Florence and to one Dr. Michael (Bannes), dwelling at Louvain, from whom he received relief."[2]

Florence spent eight years at Paris and Pont-à-Mousson, studying philosophy, and, as appears from the State Papers previously quoted, working in the interests of Dr. Creagh and for the welfare of the Irish Church. During that time he was ordained priest by Dr. Tanner, the Bishop of Cork,

[1] *Hist. Prov. Austriæ, S.J.*, by Schmidl.
[2] State Papers in *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, p. 52.

who was at Paris about the month of June, 1575. Four or five years after his ordination he went to Rome and was admitted into the Society by Father General Aquaviva, and was by him sent in 1582 to pass the time of his novitiate at Brünn, in Moravia, and afterwards to study at the College of Olmütz. In 1593, he and another Irish Jesuit, named Bambroc, were stationed at Brünn,[1] and finally, in 1595, he was sent to Neuhaus, where Adam von Neuhaus, Viceroy or Burggraf of Bohemia, and his wife, Catherine de Montfort, established and endowed in that year a College of the Society of Jesus, which soon had two hundred pupils, some of whom were Protestants, as that Bohemian town was very much infected with the poison of heresy. This was the theatre of the labours of the last twenty years of Father O'More's life, during which time he devoted himself with untiring zeal to hearing the confessions of the inhabitants of that region, and also of the foreigners who frequented it; and, as he was a man of capacity for business, during the last seven years he was Minister or Vice-President of the College, and looked carefully to its temporal as well as to its spiritual interests during that period of his meritorious career. He was found so useful that the Bohemian Jesuits endeavoured, and with success, to keep him in their country, although the Superiors of the Irish Fathers often urged Father General to send him to work in his native province of Ulster. In 1604, Father Christopher Holywood writes: "Father John Gerott and Father

[1] List of Irish Jesuits in Lorraine and Germany in MS. vol. "Angliæ Hist." in the Roman Archives, S.J., p. 121.

Florence (whose presence is necessary in the North) ought to be sent to us. Let those who detain them know they can supply their places, whereas we cannot do without them." In 1605, he again wrote to the General and said: "If Father Florence were here we could have a Residence in Ulster, and further the spiritual interests of that country."

Father Aquaviva was very solicitous concerning the northern Catholics, whose princes, after a war of fifteen years against Elizabeth, were driven into exile, and whose lands were all confiscated and planted with Englishmen and Scots. He frequently ordered the Irish Superiors to establish a Residence in Ulster, and must have signified to the Bohemians his wish to have Father Florence sent back to his native land. But the Fathers of the Austrian Province represented to him that they could not well do without him, that the temporal and spiritual state of Neuhaus required his presence, and that as he had entered the novitiate and had spent thirteen or fourteen years in their Province, he belonged to them. He was the most popular confessor in the town, and was remarkable for this, that he was not only continually in the Tribunal of Mercy to absolve all who came to him, but went about through the streets and hamlets, especially during the time of the solemn festivals, and called at the houses of the inhabitants to invite them to come to Confession and Communion.

We may learn what manner of man he was, and how far advanced he was in virtue, from a picture which has been handed down to us of a holy soul whom he guided in the ways of God. According to the History of the Austrian Province of the

Society of Jesus, Florence O'More was for the space of twenty years the spiritual Father of Catherine, Countess de Montfort Neuhaus, widow of the Viceroy of Bohemia. She was a woman of extraordinary charity to the poor, who looked on her as their mistress and mother. Though she was a person of the greatest self-control, yet, at the sight of the miseries of the indigent, she could not restrain herself, and she never rested till she had relieved their wants. When she saw the poor outside the windows of the dining-room, she used to start up at once, and throw out to them, through the window, fowls, ducks, joints of meat, whatever she could lay her hands on. She also kept a dispensary, from which she liberally and gratuitously gave medicines to those who needed them. In her palace she led a life of the cloister, and found all her delight in prayer and communings with God. She received Holy Communion twice a week, and then she felt her heart all glowing with Divine love, and sometimes remained for seven or eight hours kneeling, immoveable, and without any support for her arms. Every day in Lent, and every Friday throughout the year, she performed barefoot the devotion of the Way of the Cross; in winter long before daylight she hastened to the House of God, and remained to hear all the Masses up to the dinner-hour. She had for bed a sack stuffed with straw, and for bedclothes a covering of the coarsest and commonest kind. She wore a hair-shirt that penetrated the skin; she fasted frequently, oftentimes abstaining altogether[1] from food for three, and

[1] *Inediam sæpe in tertium, quandoque in duodecimum diem extrahebat.*

sometimes for twelve days. Notwithstanding all these austerities, she preserved a remarkable beauty even in her old age. In all these heights of contemplation and mortification, she was always most docile and obedient to her spiritual director, Father O'More.[1] Her husband died in 1595, of poison, as is said, administered by the heretics, and she herself went to her reward thirty-six years afterwards.

She was as a kind and good mother to the Society; in 1595, she and her husband founded our College of Neuhaus, and in 1599, after his death, she endowed it largely. In 1603, when Father O'More was Minister of that College, Count Joachim de Montfort Neuhaus and his mother dined in the College refectory, from the pulpit of which short addresses were delivered in fourteen languages; and seven pupils, representing the seven liberal arts, presented "the Candle of Foundation" to Joachim. In that year also, twenty heretics were converted, one of whom was a preaching minister who had been a disciple of the famous Vitus Theodoricus. Another minister, an apostate priest, who had spent ten years with the Lutherans, openly abjured his heresy, and went to confession to one of the Fathers (Florence O'More) who, as confessor of the most illustrious foundress of the College, had accompanied her on a pilgrimage to a shrine of our Lady.[2] We are sorry that the loss of some documents prevents us from giving more details of the useful career of this worthy Irishman. Concerning the end of his life we learn from the *History of the Austrian*

[1] *Hist. Prov. Austriæ, S.J.*
[2] "Ad B. Virginem ad Cellas."

Province, S.J., that before his departure from this world, Father Florence made a general confession of his whole life. When tempted to bewildering doubts by the enemy of his soul, he referred him to that general confession; and when the demon appeared to him, to his great distress, in a visible form, and annoyed him extremely, the good old man, by kissing the crucifix, banished the fiend; until at length commending his soul into the hands of God, he expired most calmly on August 4, 1616, on the feast of St. Dominic, whose name he had drawn by lot as his patron saint for August, according to the custom of the members of the Society, who, on the eve of each month, draw the name of some patron for the coming month. He had the most singular devotion to his monthly patrons, and commemorated their feast-days by the performance of some penance. This good and faithful servant died a holy death in the Lord in the sixty-sixth year of his age, after having spent thirty-four years in various functions of his Order.

VIII.

FATHER THOMAS FILDE.

FATHER FILDE was for some years the companion of the Venerable Father Joseph Anchieta, "Apostle and Thaumaturgus of Brazil," in his apostolic journeys through that country; he was a witness, and in some measure an emulator of his labours, and an admiring spectator of his miracles.[1] He is erroneously called an Italian by Franco,[2] and a Scotchman by Charlevoix and Southey;[3] but by others[4] he is truly described as a native of Limerick. His birth-place is known from an entry in the Roman Novice-Book by Filde himself, which runs thus: "On the 6th of October, 1574, Thomas Phildius, a Limerick Irishman, twenty-five years of age, enters the Novitiate. His father, William, was a doctor of medicine, and his mother was Genet Creah. Both his parents are dead. He studied humanities for three years at Paris and

[1] "Itinerum comes et miraculorum admirator." (Del Techo, *Hist. Prov. Paraguariæ*, Sketch of Father Filde, an. 1626.) "Rerum ab eo gestarum testis et ex parte æmulator." (Cordara, *Hist. S.J.* pars vi. p. 93.)

[2] Franco's *Annales Prov. Lusitaniæ, S.J.* p. 111.

[3] Charlevoix' *Hist. du Paraguay*, Southey's *Hist. of Brazil*, vol. ii. p. 251.

[4] Lozano's *Hist. del Paraguay;* Del Techo's *Hist. Prov. Paraguiæ*, lib. viii. cap. 19; Cordara's *Hist. Soc. Jesu*, pars vi. p. 93.

Douay, and philosophy for three years at Louvain, where he became Master of Arts . . . under his own hand—Thomas Phildius." Another entry says: "April the 28th, 1575, Tomaso Fildio, an Irishman, and John Sate (read Yate), an Englishman, went on a pilgrimage to St. James of Gallicia, to pass from there to Brazil."

Thomas Filde was born at Limerick in the year 1548, or 1549, of Catholic parents, at whose house he most probably often saw the Nuncio, Father Woulfe, S.J., who resided at Limerick in those days. In order to preserve his faith, Thomas was sent to study at Paris, Douay, and Louvain; and he was received into the Society in Rome by Father Everard Mercurian. He showed such advancement and solidity in virtue, that, after six months in the Novitiate, he obtained leave to go on the Brazilian mission, left Rome on the 28th of April, 1575, the year of the Jubilee, and begged his way on foot from Rome to St. James of Compostella, and thence to Lisbon,[1] or Coimbra, with an English Jesuit novice named John Yate, from whose letters we learn some particulars of their movements. Yate writes: "After my departure from Rome in April, and coming into Portugal the October following, I remained there two years, the most part of them spent in Coimbra, in the ending of my noviceship, in renewing the study of the Latin tongue, and in beginning to hear the course of theology; but being ordered to come into this barbarous Brazil of this naked nation after the expiration of a half a year in Lisbon, in which place I heard cases of conscience, I safely arrived

[1] Lozano, *Hist. del Paraguay*, an. 1626.

with many Fathers and brethren of our Society (amongst whom was the Yrishe man, and no other Englishe but I) on the last of December, 1577, at the city called the Bay of All Saints."[1] While in Portugal, the two novices made the acquaintance of Father Howling, to whom Father Yate often refers with gratitude in his letters as a correspondent who kept them acquainted with matters of interest that occurred in Europe.

We have found no letters of Father Filde's during the ten years of his journeyings with the Ven. Joseph Anchieta; but we may form some idea of his trials and labours from the life of that Apostle and from the letters of Father Yate. The latter says of himself: "I took Holy Orders in the beginning of the year 1581, since which time I have never ceased to exhort, preach, and teach the faith, and works of salvation, passing many perills of Riuers, & of diverse ferce pepull of different language in a mission upp to the woods and mountaynes almost fyve hundred miles from this place, from whence after tenne monethes space I returned w^th^ the like daungers, bringing w^th^ me two hundred personnes all infidells, and had brought more then a thousand, yf the Portiugalls that I dyd fynde in the sayed mountaynes had not hindred me w^th^ their deceytfull lyes thirstinge more the bondage of this pepull then their saluation. Such is their unsatiable covetines. In the which mission first going thitherward (not passing by villages, neither by the countries of Christians, but by lands of divers sorts of infidels of different speeches and customs, many of them living in the

[1] Bahia Todos-os-Santos.

fields and woods like unto wild beasts), we passed many dangers of death by hunger and thirst; making peace with the ignorant and beastly people for to pass more safely (nevertheless they killed four of our Christian disciples), and lying every night in the fields and woods, passing also rivers upon rotten trees and not in boats." But these troubles of Father Yate give only a faint idea of the hardships Father Filde had to undergo as companion of "the Apostle of the New World," for an account of whose laborious and wonderful career we must refer our readers to his Life written in English or to the pages of Robert Southey's *History of Brazil.* Of Father Filde's journey to Paraguay, and of his labours, adventures, and sufferings there, we have abundant details handed down by various writers. The first account we have of him was written by his fellow-novice and companion, the English Jesuit, Father Yate, to a holy and distinguished English Jesuit named Gibbons.

He says: "The news of Father Filde are these. Since that I wrote in my other letters of him in the year 1586, he was sent from St. Vincent's with other three of our Company into another country far from thence, which they call Tucuman, at the petition of the Bishop of that place unto our Father Provincial of this Brazil land. And in the way by sea near unto the great river of Plate, they were taken by an English pirate, by name Robert Waddington, and very evilly handled by him, and robbed of all the things that they carried with them. Father Thomas Filde did always edify with his virtuous life and obedience all those with whom he was conversant; unto whom I have sent the

letter which your Reverence did send him; and with the same I did send unto him his portion of the blessed grains and images that came into my hands, as also the roll of his countrymen that be of our Company. While he was in this Brazil land he took not the Holy Order of priesthood; as I do hear, he took the same in the place where he is now resident, which is as far from hence as Portugal is from hence."[1] Robert Southey thus narrates how this mission was established:

"In 1586, Don Francisco de Victoria, first Bishop of Tucuman, seeing the lamentable state of religion in his diocese, wrote to the two Provincials of the Company in Brazil and Peru, requesting that they would send some of their Order to his assistance: the Bishop was a Dominican, and this application shows how highly the Jesuits were at that time esteemed. Anchieta was Provincial of Brazil when the application arrived there. He deputed five Fathers upon this mission. Leonardo Arminio, an Italian, was their Superior, the others were Fathers Salonio, Thomas Filde, a Scotchman, Estevam de Grao, and Manoel de Ortega, both Portuguese. After falling into the hands of English sea-rovers, and experiencing, after the manner of Jesuits, many miraculous interpositions in their favour, they landed at Buenos Ayres, and crossed the plains to Cordoba, where they met their brethren from Peru, of whose coming they had no previous intimation. Whereupon Arminio and Grao returned to Brazil, but left the others who differed from him

[1] Father Yate's three letters published in full by Brother Foley in *Records of the English Province S.J.* Series I. pp. 286, seq.

in opinion. Ortega remained at Cordoba with Barsena of Peru, and Salonio and Filde accompanied Father Angulo to Santiago. Sometime after de Ortega and Filde were sent to some tribes upon the Rio Vermejo of the Toconote race; they were helped by Father Barzena, who had composed a grammar of that language. When he fell sick, they went to Paraguay, where their knowledge of the Tupi tongue would enable them to be usefully employed among the Guarani tribes. They were received at the city of the Asuncion with every mark of distinction and joy. Salonio remained at Asuncion. De Ortega and Filde went down the Paraguay and entered the province of Guayra, spent some months in the country, and returning to Asuncion, informed Salonio that they had seen two hundred thousand Indians who appeared proper subjects for the Kingdom of Heaven. A pestilence was at this time, 1588, raging at Asuncion and in the adjacent country. Pestilences, says Charlevoix, are the harvests of the ministers of God; he hints that the Jesuits were favoured on this occasion with supernatural celerity in passing from one place to another and affirms that they baptized six thousand Indians at the point of death. The zeal and intrepid charity with which they sought out the infected and ministered to the dying, confirmed the good repute which they had obtained. A chapel and a dwelling-house were built for them at Villa Rica in 1590, being their first establishment in Paraguay, and three years afterwards the magistrates and people of Asuncion applied to the King, to the General of the Company and to the Provincial in Peru,

for permission to found a Jesuit College in their city.[1]

"Ortega and Filde continued many years in Guayra itinerating among the savages, until in 1602, Ortega, on a false accusation, was thrown into prison by order of the Inquisition at Lima.

"When in 1600, Father Paiz, the Visitor from Europe, had summoned the Jesuits of Paraguay to meet him at Salda to deliberate on the best mode of carrying on the missions, Filde was left at Asuncion. His age and infirmities made him unequal to the fatigue of the journey, and he remained in possession of their premises. It was perhaps foreseen that this might be an important service. Certain members of another Order, who wished to establish themselves there, had cast a covetous eye upon their neighbour's house, and, presuming upon the rumour that the Company would not return, they proposed to Filde that he should sell the property. The old Father resisted their importunities, referring them always to his Superior, Father Romero. Had Filde died, these religious would easily have obtained permission to occupy the Jesuit premises. Romero perceived the danger, and sent Fathers Lorenzana and Cataldino to the assistance of Father Filde. In 1610, Lorenzana and Cataldino travelled by land from Villa Rica to the Paranapane, embarked upon that river, and proceeded between the tall cedar-forests upon its shores to the spot where it receives the Pirapé. Here they found about two hundred families whom Ortega and Filde had baptized, and with them they formed the first of

[1] Southey's *History of Brazil*, vol. ii. pp. 251, 267.

those settlements to which the general appellation of Reductions was now first given. This they called Loretto, as it was the cradle of the Christian Republic of the Guaranis."[1]

Such is Southey's general sketch of the establishment of the famous Jesuit missions of Paraguay. It may be supplemented with some interesting details concerning Father Filde.

When the venerable Father Anchieta was asked by the Bishop of Tucuman to send Jesuits to his diocese, the Apostle of the New World was delighted to see new paths open to the Gospel, and got permission from Father General to send five select men on that perilous and laborious mission. These were Armini, a Neapolitan, Saloni, a Spaniard, Filde, an Irishman, and two Portuguese named de Ortega and de Grao: all most experienced in the sublime ministry of souls, to which they had devoted themselves with singular zeal and great results, all brought up in the apostolic school of which Anchieta was the master. They set sail joyfully on the Rio de Janeiro, and, after a prosperous voyage, came in sight of the land to which their wishes were wafting them. They were in the Rio de la Plata and felt free from all fear of the English sea-rovers, when they discovered two sails,[2] which were those of the cruel corsair, Cavendish. The English boarded the Portuguese merchantman, treated the passengers and crew with some humanity, but wreaked all their fury on the Jesuits, insulted them, "evil handled them," and cast them on the desert island

[1] Southey, pp. 258, 259.

[2] Father Yate writes: "Thomas Candishe came with two shippes."

of Lobos to die of hunger. They took them back again to hang them to the yard-arm. They searched them, and finding Agnus Deis, they threw them about the deck, uttering foul blasphemies against the Vicar of Christ. Then one sailor, who was somewhat tipsy, began to trample on the Agnus Deis, and while he was being prevented by Father de Ortega from continuing the sacrilege, he knocked against the side of the ship and cut his head slightly. Thereupon the other sailors surrounded the Father, kicked him, and threw him overboard. They then fell upon the venerable Father Filde, and were proceeding to throw him into the sea, shouting out that he was an Irish Papist and Jesuit and preacher of Papist doctrines. But as some one suggested that it would be better to make all five hang and dance together from the yard-arm, they took in Father Ortega, who was swimming near the ship. This inconstancy of the pirates saved the priests, as the sacrilegious sailor got a swelling on the foot with which he had trampled on the Agnus Deis. From this inflammation spread over his whole leg, which had to be cut off, and the virus creeping through his entire frame caused him excruciating pain, and killed him in less than twenty-four hours. The pirates were frightened at this, and, resolving to wash their hands out of the Jesuits, confided them to the mercy of the waves in a boat without rudder, oars, or sails, and left them to be tossed about and die of hunger in these wide waters.

The Fathers were protected by God, as were St. Mary Magdalen and her companions when similarly exposed in the Mediterranean, and against all

human expectation they drifted into the port of Buenos Ayres. Amongst many things they had with them on board the Portuguese vessel was a head of one of St. Ursula's virgin martyrs, which they intended to place in the first church that should be founded by them in Tucuman. It was hidden by them in a secure spot, and escaped the eyes of the sea-rovers, but could not be found in the same place by the Fathers.[1]

When it was heard at Cordova that they had reached Buenos Ayres, almost dead with hunger and cold, they were met by the Bishop of Paraguay, who pressed them to go to the Asuncion, where their Brazilian speech was well understood, in place of labouring in Tucuman where they would have to learn many tongues. But as they had been sent to Tucuman by Father Anchieta, they started for Cordova, its capital, early in April, 1587. Father Filde and three other Fathers went to convert the numerous tribes of pagans that peopled the banks of the Rio Salado. One of their number who spoke the Tonocote language, was teaching it to his companions, and preaching to the natives when he fell ill from overwork, and was taken back to St. Jago. So Filde, de Ortega, and Saloni being deprived of their teacher, and not knowing Tonocote, held a consultation, in which, after fervent prayer, they resolved to go to

[1] Cavendish lost five out of six vessels in these waters some time afterwards, and, as Father Yate says, "went his wayes, whither no one knoweth, with one only, well whipped with the scourge of God for the irreverence he committed against His Divine Majestie and His saints, especiallie against a hollie headd of one of the eleven thousand virgens of England." (Letter to Sir F. Englefield, published by Brother Foley.)

Paraguay, the language of which they spoke. They travelled nine hundred miles partly by land, partly by the Argentine and Paraguay Rivers, evangelizing as they journeyed on, and on August 11, 1588, they reached a place nine miles from the town of Asuncion. The Governor of the province and other gentlemen went out to meet and welcome them. The Indians seeing the respect of the Spaniards for those priests, conceived a high opinion of them, which grew greater when they considered the sympathy which the Fathers showed for them, the zeal with which they instructed them, the courage with which they protected them from Spanish oppression, and the disinterestedness and devotedness with which they had come so far, and through so many dangers, for the sole purpose of saving their souls. The neighbouring Indians hearing of these three holy men went to see them, and were delighted to hear them speak the Guarani language.

But as the Spaniards were in a sad state in and around the town, the Fathers set to work at once to reform them, preaching to them, catechizing, hearing confessions, often spending whole days and nights in the tribunals of mercy, and scarcely ever allowing themselves more than one or two hours' rest. They converted the whole town. Then they turned to the Indians in and around Asuncion; instructed them, administered the sacraments to them; on Sundays and feast-days they got them to walk in procession, singing pious Guarani hymns. They then visited two distant Indian villages, and evangelized them, and after that Fathers Filde and de Ortega went and preached the Gospel through

all the Indian tribes from Asuncion to Ciudad Real del Guayra, and produced most abundant fruit. These two invincible champions[1] of the faith, having reconciled to God the city of Asuncion, went out to fight the battles of the Lord, and were followed by the tears and regrets of the citizens—all, gentle and simple, accompanied them for some distance; even the little children wished to go with them. The two Fathers crossed the Paraguay; as worthy disciples of the apostolic Father Anchieta, they travelled four hundred and fifty miles on foot through immense forests and marshes. On entering an Indian village they used to inquire how many were its inhabitants, how many were Christians, when, and where, and how, and by whom they were baptized, and they noted all down carefully. This was very necessary, as the Indians thought they were Christians if they touched holy water, or kissed the hand of a priest, or took a Spanish name. How untiring the Fathers were in their zeal may be seen from the work of one of their days.

At daybreak one of them said Mass while the other heard confessions; after his thanksgiving he too heard confessions till the hour for the *Missa Cantata*, which was celebrated as solemnly as possible in these deserts in order to attract the Indians; there was a sermon at Mass, and after Mass began the laborious and difficult task of catechizing till mid-day. In the afternoon they baptized the catechumens, administered the Sacrament of Marriage, and went about engaging the

[1] The foregoing and following details are taken from de Lozano's *Hist. del Paraguay.*

savages to give up some primitive and patriarchal customs. They did this with such tact and charity that the natives were won by them, treated them most hospitably, and, at the conclusion of each mission, begged them with tears to return to them soon again, and sent men to clear the way for them through thick woods, guide them safely through treacherous swamps, and accompany them to the next tribe of Indians.

At about ninety miles from the first Indian village lived a barbarous race, in almost impenetrable forests and among rocks almost inaccessible. They were brave and robust; but never worked, and spent their time in dancing and singing. The Fathers sent two Christian natives to them with presents, and with promises of good things if they came out of their fastnesses to them; and in the meantime they prayed fervently that God would draw these poor people towards them. Their prayers were heard, and the head cacique came, with some of his men, dressed in war-paint of various colours and wearing long flowing hair, which had never been cut, with a crown of high plumes on his head. These savages were at first very shy in presence of the two strangers, but were soon attracted to them by the kindness of their looks and actions: they were converted, and promised to lead a good life and to prevail on the rest of their tribe to do likewise. The cacique was induced to remain with the Fathers, while his attendants and forty Indians recently baptized were despatched to bring out the members of his tribe. At the end of a fortnight, they brought with them three hundred and fifty men, women,

and children, who seemed on the verge of starvation. Many children died of hunger the day of their arrival, after receiving the Sacrament of Baptism; the survivors were formed into a *pueblo*, were baptized, and led a holy and happy life.

When Fathers Filde and de Ortega arrived at the village most remote from Asuncion and not far from Ciudad Real, they were met by the Alguacil Mayor, who, accompanied by five soldiers and many Indians, brought refreshments, and letters from the Cabilde and the Justicia Mayor, in which they gave expression to the happiness they felt at the approach of the missionaries, and to the desire of the inhabitants of Ciudad Rea to be visited by them, as they had not seen a priest for more than twelve months, during which time some Spaniards and many Indians had died without the sacraments. The Fathers promised to go to the town, accepted thankfully the presents, and gave them to the poor and infirm of the tribe they were then evangelizing, among whom in the space of one month they baptized a thousand catechumens and performed four hundred marriages. Having induced these savages to give up their wild life in the woods, they passed on to the River Igatuni, a tributary of the Parana, and found there large canoes ready to take them to Ciudad Real, which was seventy-five miles away. Arriving at that town on the feast of St. John the Baptist, 1589, they were welcomed with great manifestations of joy and with great firing of cannon. Without taking a moment's rest, they went straight to the church, heard many confessions, gave Holy Communion, and one of them sang

High Mass, at which the other preached with such extraordinary zeal and energy that the hearers felt as if it were God Himself who was speaking to them. That very day they gave Extreme Unction and the Viaticum to a Spaniard who had been ill and in danger of death for a whole year, and who died immediately after receiving the last sacraments, having been so long preserved by the Father of Mercies that he might be released from his sins. They also baptized many pagans, performed the ceremony of marriage for many Spaniards and many Indians who had been living in a state of concubinage; instructed those ignorant of religion, extinguished long-standing animosities, and put an end to many scandals. The townspeople were so edified by their virtues, that they pressed them to remain and wanted to found a house of the Society in that place. But Fathers Filde[1] and de Ortega did not wish to narrow their sphere of action, and, at the end of a month's mission there, they went forth again to pour the treasures of grace on other parts of the province; they evangelized the numerous tribes between Ciudad Real and Villa Rica, baptized all the infidels who dwell along the banks of the Rio Hiubay, banished drunkenness and polygamy from among them, protected them against the oppressions of the Spaniard; and after many hardships and labours reached Villa Rica, and were there received with great solemnity. Triumphal arches were put up and the most fragrant flowers of that delightful country were displayed to do them

[1] Crétineau-Joly calls him "Tom Filds." (*Hist. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, t. iii. p. 287.)

honour. With military music and singing and other demonstrations of joy and welcome, they were conducted in procession to the church, where they declared the object of their mission. They remained four months at Villa Rica, working with untiring zeal, instructing the Spaniards whom they found ignorant of the truths and practices of religion, and doing all in their power to put in the souls of the colonists sentiments of mercy and kindness towards the poor Indians of their *Encomiendas*, whom they were accustomed to treat as slaves.

The people of Villa Rica were most anxious to keep these holy men among them, they used every argument that their anxiety could suggest, and supported their arguments with entreaties and tears. The Fathers promised to return, but said the greater glory of God called on them to go and organize a mission among the two hundred thousand pagans of Guarania. They went down the River Hiubay, and, as they were rowed along, were affectionately saluted by the many Indian Christians whom they had begotten in Christ, and who came to the banks of the river to wish them a happy journey. They did not stop on their voyage, except occasionally to administer the last sacraments to an Indian in danger of death. When Filde and de Ortega reached Asuncion, they were received in triumph, and were doubly welcome, as a dreadful pestilence, which was spreading over all the country from Carthagena to the Straits of Magellan, had just broken out in the town, where many Spaniards, and two thousand two hundred Indians fell victims to it, sometimes dying at the

rate of one or two hundred a day. The two missionaries put themselves under the orders of Father Saloni, their Superior, and with him worked day and night in the spiritual and bodily service of the plague-stricken. When hearing the confessions of the dying, they were often called by messengers from ten different houses to prepare for death a father, mother, brother, sister, or servant, and not being able to judge of the cases that were most urgent, they went wherever the spirit moved them. When entering a house, they often found ten or fourteen persons stricken down, and without any one to help them ; so they got up a pious sodality to assist in the care of the sick, while they had to devote themselves to the care of souls. The work was so heavy, that they frequently had not time to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, which was an extreme privation to men of their virtue. In the eight months during which the plague raged, they heard about fifteen thousand confessions, and instructed and baptized more than fifteen hundred infidels. Yet notwithstanding all their labours, and their want of food and sleep, they did not suffer much in health, and when the pest began to abate at Asuncion, Filde and de Ortega, in spite of the entreaties and resistance of the people, went off to the help of Ciudad Real and Villa Rica, and of the Indians whom they had recently converted to Christ. Among the savage tribes through which they travelled, they found that there was no one to give even a drop of water to the sick, or to bury the dead. They heard ten thousand confessions, buried ten thousand people with their own hands, and baptized about four

thousand pagans between Asuncion and Ciudad Real. The Indians used to dig their own graves before being stricken down, and come and say, "Father, bury me and my wife and children in this spot." The two Fathers acted not only as priests, but as the doctors, infirmarians, servants, and slaves of these poor people. The natives were so much frightened by the pest, that by some kind of fascination they ran into the very jaws of death. From places not yet attacked, they hurried towards the plague-stricken districts, to be baptized ; and some of them died on the way, and many after Baptism.

While the Fathers were thus employed, messengers came from Villa Rica and Ciudad Real, imploring their instant help, as the plague was about to rage among them. They went to Ciudad Real, which was nearest, reached it on the feast of the Nativity, 1590, remained there forty days, hearing the women's confessions in the church by day, and the men at night. They heard two thousand five hundred confessions, baptized about a thousand infidels, and performed the ceremony of marriage in one hundred and forty cases where people were living together without the sanction of the Sacrament of Marriage.

Meanwhile the pest was at work in the town of Villa Rica, and many died without the comforts of religion. The *Cabilde* sent messengers again and again to the Fathers, begging of them to come. On the 12th of October, 1590, he wrote : "For the love of Jesus Christ crucified we beg and implore of your Reverences to have pity on our extreme spiritual and temporal necessities. We have no hopes save in you, and we will appear with confi-

dence before God's tribunal when prepared by you. Remember your charity to us last year . . ."

The Fathers could not resist this appeal, and having selected, and sent some pious Spaniards and intelligent Christian Indians to baptize children among the pagan tribes, they parted from the people of Ciudad, who were sorely grieved at being left by the Fathers in the hands of death. In their first day's journey, they found a tribe dreadfully afflicted with the plague. Father Ortega remained to look after the spiritual wants of these and other tribes on the way, while Father Filde hastened on to Villa Rica. There the Fathers were received as angels from Heaven ; day and night they laboured for nine months, during which the pest raged with fury in and around the town. They baptized six thousand five hundred infidels, of whom four thousand died at Villa Rica, they buried four thousand one hundred and sixty people with their own hands, solemnized two thousand eight hundred marriages, and composed a short Guarani catechism of things necessary to be known. The natives came in from all quarters to receive Baptism, of whom about two thousand died on the way, while the others were affectionately received by the Fathers, and were by them instructed and baptized.

When the fury of the plague was spent, Filde and de Ortega went forth to preach the Name of Jesus to those who had never heard of it before; and among five tribes who had never been visited by a priest they baptized two thousand seven hundred pagans, performed the ceremony of marriage in one thousand nine hundred cases.

In and around another village they baptized five hundred people, and married six hundred couples who were living together without the bonds of matrimony. They went through other tribes, or villages, performing the same works of their ministry, and at length, after a mission of six months, they returned to Villa Rica to make their retreat, after which they exercised their ministry there for two months.

In the midst of these stupendous and superhuman labours, it is no wonder they had no time to write to Brazil or to Rome, and hence we read in the *Annual Letters of the Society of Jesus:* "Year 1591. There are three Fathers in Paraguay, who, it appears, have been sent from Brazil. No letters have been received from them this year; but it has been ascertained that they traverse many and vast regions, and are bringing many thousands of barbarians to the fold of Christ, a work in which they are much helped by their knowledge of the Guarani language." "Year 1592. Father Solani sent Fathers de Ortega and Thomas (Filde) to the Guaranis, and it is known that they converted more than two thousand of them." "Year 1594. Father Thomas Filde and Father de Ortega were sent into the province of Guayra, which lies between Paraguay and Brazil; they have a Residence established at Villa Rica, and from thence they go out on missions to give spiritual help to innumerable peoples."[1]

After their retreat and apostolic labours at Villa Rica, these two Fathers went forth and converted a nation of ten thousand Indian warriors, *Indios de*

[1] *Litteræ Annuæ Soc. Jesu.* an. 1591, 1592, 1594.

guerra, called Ibirayâras, who for clothing were contented with a coat of war-paint, and delighted in feeding on the flesh of their fellow-man. The Fathers had the happiness of rescuing many prisoners from being fattened, cooked, and eaten by these cannibals. They then baptized three thousand four hundred of another tribe; but before the work of conversion, Filde's companion narrowly escaped being murdered, and thirty of their neophytes were put to death by some wicked caciques.

The two missioners had been often deliberating about going back to Asuncion; but as the inhabitants of Villa Rica built a church and residence for them, they remained there for seven years longer. One of their chief friends and benefactors was Doña Maria Boypitan, daughter of the greatest cacique on the banks of the River Ubay, and wife of another great cacique. When dying, she bequeathed to the two Fathers all her possessions along the River Ubay, and by her help, and with the generous contributions from the Spaniards, the church was completed in the space of two years. In 1593, Father Romero was sent as Superior of the mission of Tucuman; he brought nine missioners with him, ordered Fathers Filde and de Ortega to continue their work in the Guayra territory, and sent Fathers Saloni and de Lorenzana to their assistance. On the 3rd of November, 1594, these two started from Asuncion, and reached Fathers Filde and Ortega at Villa Rica on the feast of the Epiphany, 1595. In this journey of over five hundred miles, they narrowly escaped being drowned in the Parana, and had often to make their way by swimming, or by wading

through marshes and flooded fields. Swimming seems to have been one of the useful, and even necessary, arts of these early missionaries. We are told it of three of them, but not of Filde, who, being born and brought up on the banks of the Shannon, was skilled in the art of natation, and of driving and directing a "cot" or canoe through the water.

When the four Fathers met, they were so overcome with emotion that they remained some time unable to speak. De Ortega and Filde received their brethren with open arms, entertained them with religious love and simplicity, and, answering their eager inquiries, narrated all that God had done through them during the seven years they had lived alone and laboured in those regions. All the citizens of Villa Rica were loud in their praise, and told the visitors what care these two Fathers had taken of them; how they had civilized and domesticated the Indians, who hitherto had lived like wild beasts in the woods; how they had sought them out in their forests and fastnesses, in their mountains and caves; and how they had formed them into two well-peopled and prosperous villages in the neighbourhood of Villa Rica. They told how these Fathers were looked on as angels of peace and as oracles, how their work was so incessant in the church of Villa Rica, that every day seemed a day in Lent, and how on Sundays five thousand Spaniards and Indians assembled for instruction. The visitors heard all these things, and witnessed some of them; they remained a month, helping their brethren in their apostolic work, and then left for Asuncion, which they reached after a

journey of four months and a half, during which they converted many savages as they went along.[1]

After the departure of their brethren, de Ortega and Filde went again into Guayra, and there their immense labours were crowned with the most consoling success. On their return to Villa Rica, they worked there with their accustomed zeal and prudence. As they were the only priests in the whole country, they were always on the watch and on their guard, being convinced that the slightest omission on the part of those who have charge of souls is attended with serious and sad results. They visited in detail all the tribes of the Comarca of Villa Rica; ascertained who were sick, in order to give them spiritual and corporal comfort; settled with singular tact many dissensions and disputes, which naturally arose among people so various and mixed as those of whom they had spiritual charge; and so asserted and wielded the great authority which their virtues and almost superhuman labours had won for them, that not only their church and residence, but any place within their sight was a secure asylum against the domineering Spanish colonist and the dreaded cacique. Not satisfied with these labours at home, they went again to Ciudad Real, to repair the damage done there by the devil in the absence of priests. From that they journeyed to Ciudad de Santiago de Xerez, six hundred miles away on the banks of the Paraguay, where the want of a priest produced the most deplorable results. They even went two or three different times to those places, and were abund-

[1] De Lozano's *Hist. del Paraguay*. The details that follow are taken from the same work, bk. ii. ch. xxi.

antly comforted and rewarded for their long weary journey by a marvellous reformation in the lives of the people of these towns. Their work-worn, venerable, and saintly appearance won for them the esteem and admiration of the Spaniards and Indians; by their gentle ways they attracted the children, taught them the catechism in a solid and interesting manner, and got them, both during the mission and afterwards, to instruct their parents and servants.

They returned again to Santiago de Xerez, in 1597; the air was then burning hot, the country around looked like a swamp; a pestilence was raging amongst the Indians; and both they and the Spaniards, being more anxious to prepare themselves for death than to guard against it, came to the Fathers to be baptized, or to receive the last sacraments, and death had no terrors for them if they expired within sight of these "heavenly men." In 1599, we find Filde and his companion in Guayra again, where the latter had a most marvellous escape from drowning. Many indeed were the hardships and dangers to which they were exposed, and these perils may be aptly illustrated by an extract from Beeton's *Dictionary of Geography:* "The great natural features of Paraguay are numerous rivers, swamps, lakes, and woods, with which it abounds. It is mountainous, flat, and marshy. The Paraguay and the Parana overflow their banks, and inundate in the rainy season the lowlands that lie on either side. The wild animals are the jaguar, the puma or cougar, the black bear, the ant-bear, the tapir, and the river cow. Mosquitoes, and an innumerable variety of insects, infest both the

waters and the land, with snakes, vipers, and scorpions. The great boa-constrictor is found in the moist places adjoining the rivers, and some parts are haunted by the vampire bat. In 1556,[1] the Jesuits made their appearance, and by the effect of gentleness and good policy succeeded in obtaining an ascendancy over the minds of the natives, and in establishing settlements in different parts of the country."

On one occasion while the two missioners were in Guayra, Ortega separated from Filde to go and visit some Indians who were ill; and while travelling between two large rivers he was suddenly caught at night by a dreadful hurricane accompanied by thunder, lightning, and rain. The rivers overflowed their banks, and the flooded plain lashed by the hurricane appeared like a stormy sea. The priest and an Indian climbed high up in a very tall tree; and other Indians took here and there to the trees for refuge. The storm raged fitfully for two days and nights, during which Ortega suffered exceedingly from wet, cold, hunger, and thick swarms of mosquitoes and *tabanos*, and, to add to his trouble, a monster serpent (the boa-constrictor, no doubt) had got into his tree. While he and his Indian were expecting to be swallowed up by this voracious reptile, they saw him pressing on a branch to climb higher up, and, breaking it, fall into the waters, by which he was carried away. The Indians lived two days in the branches of smaller trees, partly submerged in the water, fainting with hunger and cold, and in constant danger of dropping into the current. On the second night a

[1] A mistake for 1586.

courageous Indian swam to Ortega's tree and begged him to go and baptize three Indians who were dying on a distant tree. At the request of the Indian who had climbed into the tree with him, the priest heard his confession and tied him to the tree lest he should be carried away. Then amidst the tempest, thunder, lightning, and rain, he swam after his guide through many trees to a tree about three hundred yards away, where he found the Indians, who, after a brief instruction, were baptized, and soon fell dead into the water. He then swam to some Christian natives who were crying for help; when they were absolved, they lost their hold and were drowned. As his guide disappeared suddenly, the Father, putting his trust in God, swam back in search of his tree, and reaching it and finding the water nearly up to the mouth of the Indian in his tree, he unbound him, and both climbed as high as they could into the branches.

When the tempest abated and the waters subsided, some natives came with horses and took Father Ortega away. They were horrified to find that when he was swimming through the trees a piece of wood had gone through his leg and remained there. While an Indian pulled it out with much difficulty, the bystanders admired Ortega's steadiness and patience, as they knew he was suffering excruciating torture. Though the hardships and sufferings of forty-eight hours, and the extraction of the piece of wood were followed by a burning fever and intense pain, yet he took a stick and continued to visit the sick Indians, till he was no longer able to stir, and had to be carried in the arms of others to Villa Rica. There a surgeon

dressed the wound, and the people prayed every day for his recovery and constantly called at the residence to ask Father Filde about his health. He recovered, but the wound remained a running sore, and he was lame to the end of his life.

When he got stronger, he and Filde resumed their missionary journeys, went for the third time through all Guayra, and even through almost impassable places to the far-off town of Xerez. After having lived and worked for eight years in Guayra, on the 1st of November, 1599, they left Villa Rica for Asuncion, no doubt by the command of their Superiors, in order to take the places vacant by the deaths of Fathers Saloni and Barzana. The Spaniards and Indians were incredibly grieved at their departure, and went with them as far as the banks of the River Ubay, and by their sobs and tears testified to their affection for those sons of St. Ignatius who were the first to come to the spiritual help of their country.

The Fathers exercised their ministry among the Indian tribes as they went along, and reached the town of Asuncion at Christmas, where with Father Lorenzana, who was stationed there, they laboured zealously among Spaniards, neophytes, pagans, and "blacks." They preached, heard confessions, catechized, and taught school. In them students found learning, from them ecclesiastics got the solution of their doubts in cases of conscience, judges asked counsel, the poor got comfort and help, and those who had been at enmity found reconciliation and peace.

The Father Visitor of Peru deemed it wise to concentrate at Cordova, the capital of Tucuman,

all the Fathers of Tucuman and Paraguay, and he directed Lorenzana, de Ortega, and Filde to go thither. The two former went; but after consultation it was deemed advisable to leave Filde in the residence of Asuncion to console the inhabitants, lest the long journey of nine hundred miles should endanger his valuable life already menaced by sickness and enfeebled by years and toil. Thus God ordained that this old Father should occupy that residence, though the Superiors had proposed otherwise, and thus He facilitated the return of the Society for the spiritual welfare of innumerable souls and the conversion of many nations.

The two Fathers left Asuncion on the 15th of August, 1602, and gave missions on their way; but when they reached Cordova de Tucuman, Father de Ortega, the saintly and indefatigable partner of Father Filde's labours and sufferings and joys, found an order from the Inquisition at Lima, *el Santo Tribunal de la Fé*, commanding him to repair at once to Lima. He did so, and was imprisoned for five years, during which he was forbidden to say Mass, without ever being apprised of the accusation that had been brought against him. Towards the end of that time his accuser died at Villa Rica, and on his death-bed deposed that, to wreak vengeance on Father Ortega for having zealously reprehended him concerning his scandalous life, he had falsely denounced him to the Inquisition for having violated the seal of confession. He said he was heartily sorry for the wrong he had done and he hoped that the Father and Almighty God would forgive him. When this dying declaration reached *el Tribunal de la Fé*,

Father Ortega was let out of his prison, the miseries of which he had borne with great patience and even joy, but he died soon afterwards.

To return to Ortega's fellow-labourer, who was the sole representative of the Society in the countries of Tucuman and Paraguay, it was thought prudent to send two Fathers to his assistance, and on the 13th of December, 1605, he was joined at the residence of Asuncion by Fathers Lorenzana and Cataldino. The former wrote to the Provincial of Peru: "We found in our house, to the great comfort and joy of his soul and of ours, good Father Filde, who in spite of his infirmities has gone on with his priestly work and by his religious spirit and his dove-like simplicity (*simplicidad columbina*), has edified the whole town very much for the last three years. He is never done thanking God for seeing his brethren again in this far-off land." The three Fathers laboured zealously at the work of the ministry, and gave such edification by their spotless lives that they were called by the Indians in their Guarani tongue, *Pay yequacubo*, or "the free from vices." Everything went on peacefully for some time, till the Spaniards began to act with great cruelty towards the natives, and the Fathers took the part of the oppressed, thus bringing on themselves the indignation of the colonists. In the year 1610 this storm began to abate in presence of an epidemic which broke out at Asuncion and lasted for five months, during which the Fathers gave themselves up to the service of the people with their usual devotedness. In that year also two Italian Jesuits made their way to Villa Rica, and found there the sacred

vessels and the library which belonged to Fathers de Ortega and Filde. In the month of February they went up the River Paranapané, or "River of Misfortune," to the mouth of the Pirapé; they knew from the cacique who guided them with what joy they would be received by the native neophytes of Filde and de Ortega, and the moment they entered the lands of the Guaranis, they were met and welcomed with effusion in the name of the two hundred families whom these first missionaries had evangelized, and to whom the new-comers were bringing the blessings of civilization and liberty. On the very place that witnessed this interesting interview, Fathers Macheta and Cataldino founded the first "Reduction" of Paraguay, which was the model of all those that were formed afterwards, and which, as the cradle of Christianity in that land, was called *Loreto*, in honour of the Holy Family. Huts were raised up as if by enchantment, and soon afterwards a second "Reduction" was formed, to which the grateful neophytes gave the name of St. Ignatius.

In 1611 there was a burst of popular indignation against the Jesuits on account of their efforts to abolish slavery or *servicio personal*. They were "boycotted," and could not get for charity or money anything to eat. No one would sell them anything. A poor old Indian woman, knowing their wants and the implacable hatred the Spaniards bore them, brought them some little thing to eat every day; but the other Indians had been turned against their best friends by the calumnies of the Spaniards. The Fathers withdrew to a country house in the village of Tacumbu; yet not liking to abandon

the place altogether, they left Brothers de Acosta and de Aragon to teach school and Father Filde to say Mass for them. At the request of the townspeople, the Fathers returned at Easter, 1612; but they soon began to feel the persecuting hostility of the Spaniards, and Father Lorenzana came back from his missionary labours to try and appease the storm, and he stayed a long time helping Father Filde, who, though he was anxious to do a great deal of work, was not able on account of his great age.

In 1614 the Fathers refused to give the sacraments to those who kept up the *servicio personal;* the Spaniards retaliated by persuading the simple Indians that the Jesuits were the originators of the tax substituted for the personal service, and the authorities of the town forbade the Indians to go to the Jesuits' church. In 1615, Father Filde was employed teaching the young Jesuits the Guarani and other languages which they should know in order to be fit for the missions. In the catalogue of Irish Jesuits living in the year 1617, Father "Thomas Field" is said to be in Paraguay, and he is erroneously called a native of Dublin. In 1626 he died at Asuncion in the seventy-eighth[1] or eightieth[2] year of his age, and the fifty-second of his religious life, during which he spent about ten years in Brazil and forty in the missions of Paraguay, of which he and de Ortega were the founders,

[1] He wrote in the Roman *Libro dei Novizii* that he was twenty-five years old in 1574.

[2] The Irish Catalogue S.J. of 1609 says he was a native of Limerick, sixty-two years of age, of which he had spent thirty-eight in religion. (See *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 229.)

and in which for more than three years he was the only representative of the Society. He outlived his fellow-labourers, one of whom, Father Saloni, had died twenty-seven years, and the other, Father de Ortega, eight years before him.

It was under the guidance of the Venerable Joseph Anchieta that Father Filde had learned the secrets of the apostolic life, and he was, as Cordara says, the witness and partly the emulator of Anchieta's works. By him he was selected to go to Tucuman and Paraguay from Brazil, "where," says Father Yates, "he always did edify us with his virtuous life and obedience to all those with whom he was conversant."[1] He left himself so completely in the hands of his Superiors, and was so humble, that he never made the slightest complaint, though his Superiors forgot to promote him to his last vows till he was *forty years* in the Society. They atoned for this by ordering him, on account of his extraordinary virtues, to make the three solemn vows of a professed Father, although he was not otherwise qualified by his learning or his studies, which had been interrupted by his missionary duties in Brazil. He was a man of such innocence of life that in his old age he used to declare to the directors of his soul, with wonderful candour, that he was as pure as the day he was born. He had extraordinary zeal for the salvation of souls, was most observant of the rules, and devoted to prayer; and so mortified was he, that up to his eightieth year he constantly refused to taste apples, grapes, and other fruits, which were

[1] Letter of Father Yate to Father Good. Lansdown MSS.96, n. 18, f. 58, British Museum.

most refreshing and useful, and almost necessary, in the torrid region where he lived and laboured so incessantly. In fine, this Irishman, whose name is absolutely unknown in his native land, was not only what the Indians called him, "a man without vices," but he was adorned with all the virtues of an apostle; and more, perhaps, than any other Irishman for nearly a thousand years, is he fit to take rank with the early Irish missionaries of the Continent of Europe.

He had the singular lot to be all alone at one period in the whole region of Paraguay, and to live longer there than any other member of his Society. He must have had a very sound constitution, and seems to have had a special protection around him while following the wandering savages through their woods and swamps. Juan de Solis, who discovered Paraguay, and afterwards Garcia and Sedeno, were devoured by the natives. In 1611, Father de Aranda, an ex-captain of cavalry, and the best horseman in those lands, was murdered, with three other Fathers. Within two or three years after Filde's death, Fathers Gonzalez, Rodriguez, del Castillo, Espinoza, and Mendoça, were beaten to death with clubs; Father Romero, one of the early missioners, and Father Arias, had their throats cut; and a young Spaniard who accompanied the Jesuits was eaten by the savages. In 1623 a catechumen was murdered and devoured, and seven other neophytes were massacred. In the year of Father Filde's death, his former fellow-missioner, Father Ruiz de Montoya, was fleeing for his life through the woods, when at night he lost a fine boy, who accompanied him as his Mass-server;

and some time afterwards, when he and some Spanish officers were entertained at a village, a choice joint was put before them, which, to their horror, they discovered to be a portion of the boy, who had been fattened, killed with some solemn rites, and boiled.[1] The savages were cannibals, of a fierce and restless air, armed with darts, arrows, and war-clubs, and painted and plumed in such a manner as to give them an appearance of great ferocity. It was the custom of the Guaranis, when giving names to their children, to fatten, kill, and cut their prisoners of war, and to distribute a portion of them to each family, who made broth of it, of which all the members partook. These savages were so fierce and fond of liberty, that a cacique said to a Jesuit, "Learn that no European has trod the grass of this bank without watering it with his blood. You come to announce a new God, and so you declare war against me, for I alone have the right to be adored in this place." All the instincts of these natives were sanguinary; they were cruel, vindictive, and inclined and given to every excess of the unregenerate and undisciplined passions.

But Father Filde had to brave other perils besides that of being murdered by these men. The weather in that land was most variable, the air unwholesome, and fraught with fevers. There was great danger in going along the courses of rivers in unsteady *pirogues*, in travelling constantly on foot under a scarching sun or incessant rain, in swimming rivers or wading through flooded fields, in working his way through almost impenetrable woods and over

[1] Cordara's *Historia S.J.* an. 1626.

precipitous rocks, in braving the tooth of the jaguar and the bite of serpents, and the almost unbearable stings of mosquitoes and *tanos*, which covered his legs and faces with sores, in living on bitter roots, and in constant exposure to death from wet clothes, hardship, hunger, and want of sleep. These interminable courses, or, as Southey calls them, "itinerations," told on the health of the Jesuits, many of whom succumbed in the flower of their age; so that, a year or two after Father Filde's death, forty Fathers were sent to the help of the over-worked and exhausted Mission. We cannot but wonder, therefore, that the Irish Jesuit, after his ten years' work in Brazil, lived on for forty years in Paraguay, preserved for the conversion of the savages and colonists, and for the edification and consolation of his brethren.

The details of his eventful career are fully set forth in De Lozano's *Historia del Paraguay;* in Del Techo's *Historia Provinciæ Paraquariæ*, an English summary of which was published in the fourth volume of Churchill's *Voyages and Travels;* in Charlevoix' *Histoire du Paraguay;* Southey's *History of Brazil;* Brother Foley's *Collectanea;* in the *Hibernia Ignatiana* (pp. 24, 33*, 60, 76, 108, 177); and in the *Histories of the Society* by Jouvancy, Cordara, and Crétineau-Joly.

IX.

FATHER RICHARD DE LA FIELD.

As Father Thomas Field was for some years the sole representative of the Society in Paraguay, so was his namesake, Richard De la Field,[1] the only Jesuit labouring in Ireland about the same time; of his five companions one was hanged, another escaped hanging by going into exile, and two more were in prison in the Castles of Wisbeach and Dublin. He was chosen as Superior of the Irish Mission of the Society at a most critical time. His predecessor, Father Holywood, was captured and imprisoned for four or five years in London and in the Castle of Wisbeach; and a man of great prudence and capacity was required to fill his place. Such a man was Father De la Field, who in his day rendered immense service to religion. Of his life previous to his appointment I can give but scanty details, since, notwithstanding repeated attempts, I have failed to get access to a volume of documents in our Roman archives, which contains an account of his career written by Father Holywood.

From his name and from his intimate relations with the gentlemen of the Pale, and especially of

[1] His name is variously written, De la Feldius, De la Fildius, Fildius, Filde, Field.

Dublin, I gather that he was a native of the city or county of Dublin. The name was long established in that county—John De la Fielde held land *in capite* from King Richard the Second, and left it for ever to the clergy of Chapel-Isolde, which is now called Chapelizod ; another of the name owned some property near Lusk at the end of the sixteenth century ; and there was at the same time a "man of name" in the county, called "Field of Corduff,[1] while among the merchants of Dublin in 1614 there was a Richard De Lafield.[2] The name is at present Field, yet a Major De la Field figured in the late American War.

Richard De la Field was attending the Jesuit College at Paris before September, 1579. He was then a priest and was said to be a man of gentle blood (*presbyter nobilis*). This appears from a list of nineteen Irishmen attending the Paris Colleges of the Society of Jesus, which the Nuncio Dandino got in 1579 from an Irish Jesuit, who was then living in one of these Colleges, and was most probably Father Richard Fleming, whose life we have already sketched. The Nuncio wrote twice to Cardinal Como in the interest of Irish students. He says : "I am asked by one of the Jesuit Fathers here, who is an Irishman, to let the Holy Father know that some of his countrymen are come here to study, being forced to leave Louvain and Douay on account of the tumults in Flanders ; and to beg of His Holiness to establish and maintain a small house for twelve of them in Rome, . . . or at least

[1] *Description of Ireland in 1598*, p. 38 Edited by E. Hogan, S.J.

[2] *Inquisitionum Cancell. Hib. Repertorium Jac. I.* 17, 32 ; Car. I. i.

to send help in money hither if the Pope does not wish to found a College. . . . The Irish Jesuit Father knows them all, as countrymen and as frequenters of the College, and he has given me a list of nineteen of them, which I enclose."[1] In 1593, Father De la Field was at the University of Pont-à-Mousson with the Irish Fathers Fleming, Archer, and Holywood.[2]

In the month of January, 1599, Father Holywood, recently appointed Superior of the Irish Mission S.J., was captured at Dover and imprisoned for four or five years in London and in the Castle of Wisbeach. On the 17th of April the General of the Society, through Dr. Christopher Cusac, Founder and President of the Irish College of Douay, sent a letter to Father De la Field ordering him to take Father Holywood's place. He reached Ireland some time before the 1st of September, and wrote several letters from Dublin to Rome, of which I propose to give some extracts, after having made some preliminary remarks, which may not be unnecessary.

This Jesuit was born and bred in the heart of the English Pale, he had lived out of Ireland for twenty-five or thirty years, and consequently knew personally little or nothing of the motives of the Fifteen Years' War, the end of which he witnessed; he kept absolutely aloof from the Irish Catholics with whom Elizabeth was at war, lest he should be suspected of treason, and thus lose his influence with the nobles, gentlemen, and others of the Pale,

[1] See the two letters at p. 718, vol. ii. of Canon Bellesheim's *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche in Irland.*

[2] Roman Archives S.J. *Anglia*, 1590—1615, p. 121.

whose Catholicity he endeavoured successfully to confirm and uphold against the inroads and assaults of heresy ; and living under the shadow of Dublin Castle, where one of his subjects was confined as a prisoner, he reported, without first trying to test them, the false stories circulated in the Pale about his other two subjects, to whom was confided an arduous and dangerous mission among the Irish princes, lords, chieftains, and people, who had souls to save, as well as the gentlemen of the Pale.

The report he heard about Brother Collins was unfounded, as we have already seen. The story that Father Archer was wounded and maimed by an Irish soldier is improbable, and reminds one of the tale told to the Blessed Edmund Campion by a Dublin gentleman to show how credulous the *meere Irish* were, viz., that St. Patrick had recently got his head broken by a blow from St. Peter's Keys while he was trying to introduce an Irish galloglass into Heaven. Moreover, Father De la Field, in a subsequent letter, shows his great esteem for Father Archer, whose presence in Ireland he declared to be a matter of absolute necessity.

As to the motives of the Irish War, the Jesuit was also deceived by his friends of Dublin. He admits that the reason put forward in his time was the defence of the Catholic Faith ; O'Neill always declared that he was fighting for the faith of his countrymen. The Earl of Desmond, when preparing for the war in 1580, thus addressed his soldiers : "Our rulers, ever since they renounced the Catholic religion, scorned to regard the nobles of this land who have remained true to the Catholic faith. . . . Before Heaven, we are trampled upon

by a gang of mailed marauders who hold us in contempt. Look to the sacred Order of your priesthood: is it not despised by those innovators who have come amongst us to punish and banish the rightful owners from their time-hallowed possessions. . . . Rights are despised, and liberty is a mere catchword, the civil administration is in the hands of spies, hirelings, and defamers, and, *what is more deplorable than all, we are denied the right of professing and practising our religion openly;* heresy is making rapid encroachments, and we are called upon to do homage to those base-born churls who in the Queen's name mock and spurn us."[1] Twenty years later, on the 14th of March, 1599, just when Father De la Field was coming to Ireland, another Earl of Desmond wrote: "They content not themselves with all temporal sovereignty, but by cruelty, they desire our blood and perpetual destruction, to blot out the whole remembrance of our name together with our old Catholic religion, and to make us swear that the Queen of England is the supreme head of the Church."[2] Hence Father De la Field's opinions must be taken with caution. He was a worthy man, prudent, cautious, charitable, and zealous, and he rendered immense service to the Catholic faith in Ireland, and he must not be blamed for holding ideas which were those of the world in which he lived and moved.

On the 1st of September, 1599, Father De la Field wrote to Father General: "Father Holywood is still in prison; he would be set at liberty if he

[1] Cardinal Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, vol. i. p. 115.
[2] Desmond's Letter of March 14, 1599, in *Hibernia Pacata*.

bound himself by oath to persuade his countrymen that they may fight for Elizabeth against the Irish who are in arms. We beg your Paternity to let us know what answer we are to give to those who ask advice from us on this point, as the priests here seem to be divided in opinion. My view is that, though religion is alleged as the motive at present, political interests were alone put forward in the former rebellion as they call it.[1] Father FitzSimon labours strenuously in the vineyard of the Lord, attracts numbers to himself, has founded a Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, by which he stimulates many to the practice of piety, and has recalled several from the paths of vice. We beg of your Paternity to sanction this Sodality and to grant it the Indulgences given to other congregations of that kind. When this Father is in the city he never dines without six or eight guests; when he goes to the country on his missionary excursions, he rides with three or four companions. I have not yet heard from Father Archer; but I have been told that he was badly wounded by a soldier whom he not only by words, but by blows, endeavoured to deter from evil doing. I have written to him about this matter. Many leading men here have been converted to the Catholic faith,[2] priests who have been detained in prison for some years have been released. In all the battles and encounters up to this, the Royal army has been worsted by the Irish, and, wonderful to say, the English themselves confess that the very moment they come before the Irish, they lose heart and fling away their arms. The Viceroy has just left with five or six thousand men to fight a battle

[1] See my preliminary remarks. [2] By Father FitzSimon, E.H.

with the Earl of Tyrone, who is eagerly awaiting him. We know not what the issue may be, but pray that God may give victory to those who uphold the just cause."[1]

On the 7th of Septembr, 1599, Father FitzSimon wrote to the General: "I have got your Paternity's letter appointing Father De la Filde in the place of the prisoner. I cannot express to you how glad I was to receive it, as I was afraid you would not think this vineyard worthy of your attention, on account of its perpetual infelicity or on account of the wickedness of our enemies. There are so many joining our faith, that in one day I received four Englishmen into the Church, three of whom were men of distinction. Extraordinary things are thought to be at hand. Father De la Filde is the fittest of all to be at the helm; but we want fervid and active men to carry on our work with success."[2]

The new Superior writes from Dublin on the 20th of July, 1600: "Your Paternity should not be astonished at receiving so few letters from us. The letter-carriers are few, and the merchants who go to Spain and France will take no letters without previously reading them. I send to your Paternity Father Archer, the bearer of this letter. He will give you the fullest information concerning all that is done in this country. He has been a source of light and help in our work here, he has always lived with these Irish lords who are endeavouring to promote the interests of religion, and, in consequence, he is the object of the intense hatred of the Queen's officials and army, while at the same time

[1] *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 50.
[2] *Life and Letters of Father Henry FitzSimon, S.J.* p. 49.

his presence is very necessary for the advancement of the Catholic faith in these calamitous times. It is important that he should be sent back to us as soon as possible, accompanied by many others, as he, with one or two Fathers, will be wanted to teach, instruct, and keep from the various excesses and vices, to which they are addicted, those rude people who are indeed nominally and in a general way fighting for the Faith, but in their lives and manners are far removed from Christian perfection. Other Fathers will be required for this more civilized part of the kingdom, and, please God, their labours will not be without fruit, as we have found by our past experience, since nearly all our countrymen are most willing to receive and preserve the true Faith. Father Archer will inform you fully about Father FitzSimon, who was kept in close custody for two months, but now is not imprisoned as strictly as before. Of Father Holywood we have heard nothing since he was transferred from London to the prison of Wisbeach, and we have lost all hope of his release during the reign of the present Sovereign. It is commonly reported that His Holiness has renewed Pius the Fifth's Bull of excommunication against the English Queen and her adherents, and that the Bull has been published by the Bishops of Ulster and Connaught. If it should reach us here, many minds will be disturbed on account of the difficulty of acting according to it, and many gentlemen even now ask what is to be done in such a case. If they obey it, they shall have their property confiscated and their persons condemned for high treason; if they do not act in conformity with the Bull, they will incur the cen-

sures of the Church, and be deprived of the sacraments and of Mass, a thing which to them will seem worse than death. I should like to know from your Paternity how I shall answer that question, which seems to touch matters of State.

"There is great hope of the re-establishment of the Catholic religion as a consequence of the successful issue of the war. In nearly all encounters the Catholic army has obtained the victory, and new reinforcements are expected from Spain; and it were to be wished that His Holiness would give his influence and help to further this business. Wherefore I have thought it worth while to mention some ecclesiastical benefices, which, if His Holiness conferred them on us, would help the Society to erect colleges in this kingdom. These are (1) the Monastery of St. Thomas, Martyr, near Dublin, worth £550 Irish, a pound being equal to 2½ crowns; (2) the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin, near Dublin, worth per annum £463; (3) the Monastery of St. John the Baptist, outside the new gate of the city, £156; (4) the Monastery of All Hallows, near Dublin, where the heretics have built a splendid college, is worth £84; (5) the Priory of Holm-Patrick, near the sea, worth £69, would make a country house for the students of our colleges. I commend to your Paternity Mr. Robert Lalour, who goes with Father Archer; he is a good and pious man, and most devoted to our Order; he has great influence in the ecclesiastical concerns of this kingdom, and yet seeks our advice as much as is in his power."[1]

In this letter Father De la Field says nothing of

[1] *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 68.

his own imprisonment or capture. Yet we are told by Jouvancy in his *Historia Societatis Jesu* that "Father De la Field was an active and prudent man; his sermons, conversation, and counsels were much sought by Catholics and even heretics and schismatics; his fame and credit set the spies in motion, and caused his capture and imprisonment while he was walking in the streets of Dublin. Not long after his imprisonment Father Archer was called to Rome by the Sovereign Pontiff to give an account of the state of religion in Ireland." Father De la Field's friend, Robert Lalour, who was Vicar-General of the dioceses of Dublin, Kildare, and Ferns, was also cast into prison in 1606; and though he there acknowledged the King's supremacy in *temporal causes*, he was tried under the statute of *Præmunire*, and for holding communication with Rome was sentenced to be hanged, and thus was added another name to the martyrs of Dublin.[1]

In response to the foregoing letter Father General sent Fathers Leinich, Morony, and Lenan to his assistance, and, as appears from a memorandum,[2] he intended to send back Father Archer as soon as he had fulfilled a mission which he had confided to him concerning the interests of the Irish Colleges on the Continent. But from two Spanish letters of Father Leinich[3] it appears that the Superior, not having got an answer from the General concerning his doubts, was on the point of going to Rome to lay important matters before Father Aquaviva when he was persuaded by the new-

[1] Cardinal Moran's *History of the Archbishops of Dublin*, i. p. 29.
[2] Written on the back of that letter. [3] *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 80.

comers to remain at his post. He kept two of the Fathers at or near Dublin, and sent Leinich to give a roving mission among the gentry and the villages, which had very consoling results, as this zealous priest withdrew many from their evil ways of living, heard many confessions, catechized the old and the young, and ministered to the wants of many. This Father also had the consolation of getting access to Father FitzSimon in his prison, and of finding that he was full of courage and of conformity to the will of God, and that he was converting some schismatics and heretics, and solving many cases of conscience that were submitted to him.

In February, 1603, Father De la Field writes to the General: "For *four years* I have not received any letters from your Paternity, and in consequence I was resolved to go myself, or send some Father to Rome. But, on consultation with my *confrères*, it was thought better not to deprive the mission of its head or of any of its members, who are so few. We are only five in this kingdom. Fathers Morony and Leinich are working zealously in West Munster, Father Lane and myself devote our labours to Leinster; but the zeal of all extends itself to other parts of Ireland where an opportunity presents itself. The fifth, Father FitzSimon, is still held captive, but is not in chains or strict keeping. Our efforts are chiefly directed to confirm the Catholics in their faith, to bring back to the fold any whom we find to have fallen away, and to extinguish mortal enmities and discords between many leading men. With what fruit we have laboured in this vineyard is evidenced by the

bearing of the Catholics when under examination by the English authorities. When the Privy Council thought the war was nearly at an end, and when the Spanish forces were last year defeated at Kinsale, and the power of the Irish Lords was broken, they appointed sixty "spiritual commissaries" to look after the ecclesiastical concerns of sixty regions of the kingdom. They began with Dublin, the metropolis, ordered the churches to be renovated and elegantly furnished with pews and seats, divided the city into six parishes, and by threats and promises urged the people to frequent their churches. As they could not get *a single Catholic* to go to their profane temples, they named a day in every week on which the faithful, whom they call recusants, should appear before the commissaries, some of whom are Privy Councillors. They first attacked the aldermen or members of the Corporation and then the common people, and asked them individually would they or would they not frequent their churches and listen to their sermons. All refused, and gave as their reason that the faith of their fathers and the Catholic religion forbade them to do so. They were insulted, calumniated, accused of high treason, of favouring the Spaniards, and were threatened with imprisonment unless they obeyed the Queen's laws. When the English found that the first whom they grappled with bore their imprisonment with alacrity, they threatened to impose a fine of £10 for every abstention from the Protestant church on Sundays. The prisoners bear their captivity with patience, the others refuse to pay the fines, and deny that they can be legally compelled to pay them.

This attitude of the Dublin citizens has given heart to the people of the other cities and towns, and to the gentlemen of the country who reside in castles, so that they will show the same constancy in defending the old faith, should an attempt be made to tamper with their religion. But, please God, that attempt will not be made,[1] as the more prudent of the commissaries deem it not just, chiefly in such troubled times, when a Spanish invasion is feared, to fine so severely for their religions a people devoted from the cradle to the Catholic faith, or, as they say, to "Popish ceremonies." Meanwhile, the Irish lords are raising troops, and are leading their army into the open field. Father Archer two or three times was an intermediary between the Irish and Spaniards, but he had not consulted us in the matter; but as for us who live among the more civilized subjects of the Queen, seeking the salvation of souls, we dare not communicate with the Irish who are in arms, lest our name of Jesuits, already sufficiently detested by the enemies of the Cross of Christ, should, if touched with the taint of rebellion, become execrable in the eyes of honest men. . . .[2] We are sadly in want of priests here; there are many indeed of pious and simple lives, but few qualified by their learning to teach the faithful otherwise than by good example. The people are docile, and show great respect to a priest, especially if he be a man of some learning; for this reason they respect and venerate our Fathers, and even

[1] Father De la Field was mistaken, as we shall see further on.

[2] Here he tells a false story about Brother Dominic Collins which we have refuted already.

suspect that every learned priest, who comes from beyond the sea, is a member of our Society. I wish your Paternity could realize the state of things here, and as a consequence send a reinforcement of labourers into this vineyard."[1]

After the death of Elizabeth in 1603, Father De la Field wrote to Father Holywood at Brussels, that the gentlemen of Ireland were ready, if the occasion required, to risk their fortunes, liberty, and lives rather than allow their consciences to be any longer exposed to the machinations of heresy. In this year, 1603, he himself, in spite of his loyalty, ran some risk of being captured and perhaps hanged. On the 29th of June, he and his companion were with Dr. White, Vicar-Apostolic of Waterford, when Dr. White was summoned to appear before Morison, the English commander of the garrison of that place, who sent his soldiers to arrest him. These Fathers persuaded him to seek safety in flight. The Vicar was pursued by the priest-hunters from Waterford to Clonmel, and from Clonmel to Waterford, where, on the 13th of September, meeting with Father Leinich, S.J., they took him to be Dr. White, whom he resembled, and about midnight they, with three companies of soldiers, went to the Vicar's house, and threatened his servant with instant death unless he told them where his master was concealed. On the 23rd of July, 1603, Father De la Field had an agreeable surprise in Dublin such as had his namesake in Paraguay.[2] On that day he paid a visit at the house of a friend, and, finding two priests there, he

[1] *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 109.
[2] See *supra*, Life of Father Thomas Filde.

saluted them courteously. The owner of the house whispered to the two strangers (Fathers Wall and O'Kearney, S.J.), that the visitor was Father De la Field; and, as they wrote to the Father General, "You may fancy what mutual embraces and agreeable conversation we had together. We remained a week there, and were every day invited to dine by gentlemen who gave us the most cordial welcome. Then we went with De la Field to visit Father Lenan, with whom we spent three days. We tried to see Father FitzSimon, but, as he is strictly guarded in prison, we could not do so, yet we were able to get a letter conveyed to him which filled him with consolation."[1]

On St. Patrick's eve, 1604, Father Holywood landed in Ireland as successor of Father De la Field in the government of the Irish Mission, S.J. In the last week of Lent he reached the town (of Clonmel?) where Fathers Leinich and Murony were staying, and was soon joined by Father De la Field and by Fathers Wall and O'Kearney, two distinguished Jesuits, who had recently come to labour in this country, and were destined to render signal service to the cause of religion. Father De la Field informed the new Superior that he had not received a single letter from the General for more than five years.[2]

In June, 1604, the house in which Father De la Field lodged was attacked by the pest which then raged in and around Dublin; but he and his brethren had more formidable foes than the pest.

[1] *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 136.
[2] *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 122. They must have been intercepted by the English.

The Lord President and Council of Munster did "strictly command that all Jesuits do, before the 30th of September, depart and forsake any manner of residence within the province, and so to continue for the space of seven years; and what person soever shall receive or relieve any of them shall suffer imprisonment during His Majesty's pleasure, and forfeit for every such offence, as often as committed, £40, the one half to the informer, the other to His Majesty's use. And whoever shall bring unto the Lord President and Council the bodies of any such shall immediately receive a reward of £40 for every Jesuit, and for every seminary £6 3*s.* 4*d.*, and for every Massing priest, £5." And the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland report that "few of the best houses of the Pale are free from relieving and receiving the Jesuits, seminaries, friars, and priests. The Council suggest a Proclamation from His Majesty for the expulsion of the Jesuits, &c., and for the punishment with severe penalties all their relievers and abettors, whatsoever they be. The Jesuits scoff daily and insolently at the ignorance of the Protestant bishops. As by a statute of the 27th of Elizabeth 'it should not be lawful to or for any Jesuits born within any English dominions to come into or remain in any part of His Highness' dominions under pain that every such offence shall be taken as high treason,' Chief Justice Saxey advised the Privy Council at Dublin that this statute might take hold of the Jesuits in Ireland, and that they might be apprehended, and sent to England for trial; but an Irishman of the Council gave as his opinion that the words,

"Her Majesty's dominions,' extended only to England and Wales."[1]

On January 29, 1605, Father De la Field was somewhat better in health, and after having been confined to bed for three or four months he was able to go out on business at the end of February, but was supposed to be threatened with consumption; he was still under the doctor's care in June.

On October 21, 1605, Father Garnet writes to Father Parsons: "I have a letter from Field the Journeyman[2] in Ireland who telleth me that there was a very severe proclamation against all ecclesiastical persons, and a general command for going to church, with a solemn protestation that the King never promised nor meant to promise toleration. The Judges openly protest that the King now will have blood, that he hitherto stroked the Papists, but now will strike. I pray you to speak to Claude[3] to grant them or obtain for them the same faculties as we have here, for so he earnestly desireth and is scrupulous."[4]

Father Holywood writes to the General that in 1605, though constantly ill, De la Field preached some sermons at Dublin in the beginning of the year, and also at the end, as the citizens were urged with dire threats to go to the churches of the Parliamentarians. He got together as many of the inhabitants as he could, and taking for his text, "Give to Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar, and to God what belongs to God," he explained its

[1] Saxey to Cecil, Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1604.
[2] *I.e.* the Jesuit. [3] Father General.
[4] *Account of the Gunpowder Plot.* By Vindicator, p. 63.

meaning to them, and instructed them fully on the manner in which they should bear themselves in presence of the Judges. He did this with such effect, that to him in some measure is to be attributed the fact that the people of Dublin behaved so well, and could not, by threats, imprisonment, confiscation of property, and other vexations, be prevailed on to betray the faith. As the first and greatest fury of this persecution broke over Dublin, Father De la Field, in order to confirm the citizens in the faith, and to protect the common people from being harassed by the Protestant ministers, endeavoured with much trouble, and with the best results, to get the country gentlemen who lived scattered through the country to come together to the capital and stand up for their religion. They did so, and drew up a remonstrance to the Lord Deputy, in which they stated that the King had been turned against them by false accusations, and that nothing would induce them to abandon their ancient faith. This determined attitude of the gentlemen of the Pale, who acted by the advice of Father De la Field, brought down severe reprimands on all, and imprisonment to some; but it gave heart to the Catholics of Dublin, and to a great extent weakened the force of the assault made on their faith.

At the end of Father Holywood's letter he appends a list of some of those who were imprisoned for their adherence to the Catholic faith. As it was written in English, an Italian of that time, not understanding what it was about, described the list as *Carmina Hibernica*, or Irish verses!

This postscript reads thus, "Citizens of Dublin, Mr. Walter Sedgrave, John Shelton, James Bedlowe, Thomas Plunket, Kennedy, Stephens, Tornor, Kearrol, &c. These and others were first commanded to go to church by proclamation; again by special commandment; last, upon their duty of allegiance under the broad seal, and therefore examined in the Star Chamber, fined and committed for contempt. Noblemen and gentlemen of the country committed: L. Gormanston, L. Lowth (as I hear), Sir Patrick Barnwall (close prisoner), Sir James Dillon, John Finglas, Richard Netirville and Henry Burnel (both committed to their homes only by reason of their age), these were committed for putting in of a petition."[1]

On the 6th of May, 1606, Father Holywood writes that Father R. Field died on the 21st of February, and that on the 26th Field's friend, the Rev. Robert Lalor, Vicar-General of Dublin, was captured and imprisoned, and that a worthy priest named Bernard Kearolan was hanged on Good Friday without any form of judgment. On the 29th of June, Father Holywood writes again:[2] "Our dearest Richard of happy memory, whose loss I now feel very much, was a man of perfect obedience, and so dear to those with whom he lived that I doubt if they would have mourned more over the loss of their parents than they did for him. There is nothing wonderful in this, as love wins affection, and certainly when he was

[1] *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 176; MSS. Anglia, 1590—1615, in Roman Archives, S.J.

[2] Father Holywood's letter to Father General of May 6, 1606, p. 376, MSS. "Anglia 1590—1615," in Roman Archives, S.J.

expiring I saw he was more solicitous for that family than for himself. God grant us the same charity!"[1]

For seven years Father De la Field had lived and laboured in Dublin and the neighbouring counties, instructing and exhorting the Catholics, administering the sacraments, and especially, as he tells us himself, in confirming the citizens in their religion. According to Father Holywood, he was the guiding spirit and organizer of that brave and heroic stand which they made for the old faith in 1605. Though very ill during that last year of his life, he got out of his sick-bed, assembled the chief citizens, and explained to them their duty of resistance to the inroad of heresy; then he went among the country gentlemen and nobles, and got them to give their countenance and help to the citizens of Dublin.

How great his success was, and how determined and heroic was the stand made by Catholic Dublin, we may gauge from the dash and doggedness of the well-planned onslaught made by all the forces of heresy in that one year of coercion. Here is a brief account of it, which I give from the *Life and Letters of Father FitzSimon.*

Sundry complaintive letters of afflicted Catholics, declaring the severity of divers late proclamations; as, of the speedy banishment of all priests; of death to them and their receivers, if any remained; of the oath of allegiance; ransacking of pursuivants; and of utter ruin to any professing the Catholic Religion. Written in the year 1607, to Father Henry FitzSimon, S.J.

Presupposing your compassionate disposition, Reverend Father, we certify your Reverence, that shortly after your

[1] *Hibernia Ignatiana*, pp. 176—207.

departure, namely, the 28th of September, 1605, were published (without all allowance of any Parliament to that effect) sundry proclamations of speedy banishment to all priests, of death to them and to their receivers (whereby many priests abandoned us, and many of us eschewed them), if any remained; and of utter ruin to any professing himself a Catholic by any duty or fact of his profession whatsoever. By which their severity towards us, finding in them an opinion of it to be a niceness and inconsideration in us to feel any oppression, much more to complain thereof, we are hardened to tolerate their greatest violence as we best may, and for our further constancy desirous to have your fatherly directions.

Ministers by whom these proclamations were urged against us, converted all their pulpit railing against the magistrates, that now, having the sword in their hands, they did not destroy us. Promoters also pretended all forwardness to persecute us. All unthrifts, bankrupts, drunkards, whoremasters, and scurf of the kingdom, offered themselves to be earnest spies, zealous accusers, adventurous assaulters of us. Neither did R. S., a gentleman of your acquaintance (after consuming his whole estate in gaming and disorder), disdain to fulfil base offices against us.

During their preparations continual threats were blundered abroad, that Papistry was now with all speed to be abolished; that the Gospel was to be established; that every one, maugre his profession, should come to church, &c. Churches were repaired upon such assurance. Ministers and their wives and children, as also promoters and catchpolls, took upon them higher looks, and furnished themselves with unwonted apparel and other provision, in confidence of their increased revenues. Whatsoever we had, either land, or house, or horse, or jewel, &c., they eyed and predestinated to themselves, either by way of fine, or bribe, or mortgage.

Although their doctrine to every one is known to be uncertain, even among themselves, and although they are in continual discords, yet they strive to enforce us to renounce our belief, they propounding no other belief

out of controversy among themselves, which we might safely profess for every part thereof.

To proceed with more dreadful ostentation, nothing was omitted that might seem convenient to terrify timorous minds. Many commissioners, and not a few of them of the basest sort, were appointed; martial law was established, and marshals with companies of horsemen were ordained to scour the country, to make away priests and "rogues." It was death to travel from place to place without passports. By this course, as every marshal might, so many did, for revenge and malice, put divers, without all form or process, to death. Another lawless disorder was by searchings. Doors, chests, cupboards were broken and rifled, and houses ransacked like a fort won by conquest. It was the sport of searchers to behold the tears of householders, the trembling of all the family, and to hear the screechings of women and children. Small boxes and caskets have been searched for priests; all that came into their nets was fish; our jewels, for being Agnus Deis; our silver bowls, for being chalices; our best attire, for being church ornaments.

A third disorder was by fines in several courts. Some in one day were compelled to feed the greediness of officers of four divers courts. And our refusing the oath of allegiance (as for it of the supremacy, to satisfy the Puritans it is suppressed), is made a matter of the Star Chamber. These fines are unmeasurable to our qualities. Yet if we consent not suddenly to satisfy them, first they clap us up into prisons, and then they themselves, in all tumultuous manner, resort to our houses, take notice of all our substance, valuing everything at a ridiculous rate to all, but to them that are entitled in the goods; and of all together—gold, merchandize, corn, household-stuff, evidences, apparel—they make up their fine (if it exceed not all the means of the party), conveying away as serveth their own turns, and intending to return by some pretext or other, if there remain anything to their advantage.

Infinite are the affronts that we sustain. If we walk abroad, or frequent our neighbours, we are taxed to be

too public or popular; if we be retired and private at home, we are censured to plot secret machinations; if we be of cheerful countenance, we are calumniated to be fed with foreign hopes; if we be mournful, we are condemned to be malcontents; if we be frugal and sparing, we are misdeemed to detest their conversation; if we be lavish, we are maligned for our abundance; if any malign and molest us, he is zealous; if any condole or compassionate our calamities, he is dangerous; if any would frustrate our claims, debts, or other rights, it commonly sufficeth that we be "Recusants."

They through God's mercy not being able to pervert any one of us of any account to their profession, they, at least for their own profit, can invert, and accommodate their profession to our further incumbrance; for, besides imprisonment, fines, and bribes exacted in general, they extort twelve pence for every one of competent age that is absent from their churches on Sundays or holidays. And the holidays, which before they could not abide that God might be glorified by and in them, they urge now to be observed, that themselves might be advanced by them.

Of the few that have shrunken in this trial, either by God's judgment, or by some other secret, they are little respected and less advanced to the adverse party. And in themselves so great a remorse is observed, that neither in countenance, nor in heart, can they be comfortable—whereby very many have taken occasion to remain more settledly in their profession.

We cannot conceive by what means it happens, but true we find it, that such is the deceit of our impugners, as they preoccupy so the ears of His Majesty, that our informations, our agents, and our sufferance cannot attain to his knowledge. Neither are any found that dare repair to declare our calamities to him, our former agents being imprisoned, and not daring to avouch the answer that His Majesty gave unto us upon our suit of indemnity for our being Catholics; which was (say they) that we should not be molested (if we would be loyal) for our ancient unviolated profession. We are assured manifoldly, that neither His Majesty alloweth the hundredth part of our

vexation, nor his Deputy or the chief of his Council; but only that it is inflicted by hungry upstarts (and in particular by the President of Munster, the Chief Justice, &c.), who as they impiously molest us, so they slanderously suggest by all likelihood all misconceits against us, and, as we said before, thereby prevent all our declarations of their persecuting us, that either they are not heard, or at least not believed.

Their intelligence in preaching is redoubled, but to their small profit, for ordinarily in every sermon, by some one thing or other, they condemn some part of their former profession. So that for one that commendeth any sermon, three of themselves do discommend it. Truly among us they were never less esteemed or in less possibility to purchase any to their religion, they are so impious toward God and dishonest toward man; in so much as all most honest do loath to converse with them —their words from their thoughts, and their works from their words being always repugnant.

They have lately, as it seems, fallen in dislike with their oath of supremacy, for which so much blood was shed and so many Catholics impoverished: and now they have made a new oath, full of vehement and dreadful words, such as, "I do from heart abhor, detest, and abjure," &c., and that oath also is suddenly exchanged into another, indeed of more temperate style, but we know not if of different substance.

These oaths they urge us to swear, our loyalty and subjection being never violated, and we intending never to violate them, and having besides occasion not to swear any of their oaths, considering that the very correction of them in so short a space doth argue a condemnation of the former by the latter, and consequently of them that had sworn the former, as also may shortly happen towards the latter.[1]

Such was the galling coercion of the Catholics in the year 1605, and such was their unconquerable constancy. This steadfastness in the faith was

[1] *Life and Letters of Father FitzSimon*, pp. 1, 5, 9, 13, 15, 21, 23, 26, 29, 33, 34. Dublin: Duffy.

attributed by all to St. Patrick's protection over his people and to God's promise to our Apostle that his people would never fall away. But among those who visibly helped the faithful to show this bold and determined front was first Father De la Field, who by his instructions, exhortations, influence and organization, brought the wealthy citizens and the country-gentlemen into line with the population of the cities and towns. So we are told by Father Holywood, whereas James the First attributed the stubbornness of the Papists to "that Holywood" himself. But we believe that they were powerfully seconded by, or were seconding Dr. Lalor, Vicar-General of Dublin, to whom Father De la Field was a bosom friend and a trusted counsellor. If the Jesuit had lived a year or two longer he would no doubt have shared the fate of his friend, and added another name to the list of Irish martyrs; as it was, he was the first Irish Jesuit that in the space of forty-six years died in Ireland on his bed and not in exile or on the scaffold. A year after Father De la Field's death, the English Attorney-General, Sir John Davis, says in a letter:

"To Cecil, July 1, 1607. The priest Lalor is attainted, and sundry gentlemen of the Pale, having maintained him, have incurred the danger of præmunire. Besides, he obtained such influence that he was, and yet is, a feoffee of trust to divers lords and gentlemen of all their lands of inheritance, all which are forfeited to the Crown by his attainder. Among the rest he is feoffee of the greatest part of the lands of the earldom of Kildare and of the barony of Delvin." He was

accordingly hanged, drawn, and quartered. The Lords in presence of the attitude of the Catholics recommend prudence, and on the 21st of July, direct the Deputy to take special care for preservng the good affection of the towns, the inhabitants whereof are the chief complainants of vigour used by extreme fines and imprisonment; yet they are those whose conformity must be chiefly endeavoured, because the country round look upon them for example in every kind, and their loyalty, which continued steadfast in the time of the rebellion, assisted by the Spanish forces, makes them fit to be the better cherished. July 22, the Lords wish the Deputy to rectify a little the strong discontent of the towns and others, now boiling in their hearts by reason of the President's over-sudden courses.

August the 4th, the Lord Deputy writes to the Privy Council in England, that he intended to visit Munster, as the Lords of the Council had advised some relaxation, &c., from complaints of the President's severity and the under-officers' extortions. Many of the merchants, too, and other inhabitants of the corporate towns, terrified, as they pretended, with his course of proceeding, gave over their trades, and betook themselves to the country, openly professing that they would abandon their traffic beyond the seas rather than the President should be benefited by the impost on wines, and that they would incur any infliction of the law rather than he should gain any glory in the work which he intended . . . this sort of people will never be made, no, nor will be fit, to receive instruction, *without the bridle and the*

spur. The fines imposed in Munster by the President amounted to £7,000 [or about £70,000 of our money.—E. H.].

May I be permitted to end this sketch of Father De la Field by a protest against the methods of the Englishmen who for the last three hundred years have kindly undertaken to write or work up our history for us. I mean in a future paper to defend the Blessed Edmund Campion, who was the first of them in point of time and the best of them in character. I will now offer a few not uncalled-for remarks on the last and by no means the worst of them, Mr. Walpole, whose book, *The Kingdom of Ireland*, teems with inaccuracies which, I am very sure, are not wilful. His thirteenth chapter regards Father De la Field's times, and is felicitously headed, "The Introduction of English Ideas." It contains a great many true things, but also many that are untrue, and which I take the liberty of italicizing and refuting. He gives this picture of the period: "The power of the Irish was completely broken by the process of starvation. The system pursued both in the south and in the north of destroying the crops removed the whole source of sustenance on which the mass of the people depended. Elizabeth's practice of debasing the coin had doubled or trebled the price of every purchasable article. A fatal pestilence had followed upon famine; the people of Ulster died of hunger by thousands. . . . Mountjoy and Carew were determined to do their business thoroughly. They did so in the only way in which they could hope to succeed, . . . scouring the intervening country with small parties of horse

and foot, burning the huts, driving the cattle, and utterly laying waste every patch of cultivation. . . . The poor churls were in a miserable condition; they lived how they could and where they could; *they commonly went stark naked, even the women.*

"Into this battered, ruined, famine-wasted, plague-stricken inheritance came James the Sixth of Scotland in 1603. He had coquetted considerably with the Roman Catholic party both at home and abroad prior to the Queen's decease, and this had raised hopes in the Romanists of Ireland that the old forms of Religion would be restored. In this they were grievously mistaken. . . . A royal proclamation was issued to the effect that no tolerance to the Roman Catholic religion would be given, that all Jesuits and Romish priests should quit the country, and that the penal clauses of the Act of Uniformity would be strictly enforced.

"*There is no doubt that at this time great numbers of English, Irish, and Spanish Jesuits had openly swarmed over into Ireland from the Continent as they had at the risk of their lives secretly invaded England from Douay and St. Omer. They had taken a most active part in the recent wars, many of them even fighting desperately in the field. The Pope, too, had organized a complete Roman Catholic Hierarchy, regularly appointing, as vacancies fell, archbishops and suffragans to all the Irish sees. Still, though many Jesuits and friars had been hanged, there had been as yet no general persecution of the laity.* Numbers of Irish Roman Catholics had fought in Mountjoy's army; and all the English Pale, though Roman Catholics to a man, were strictly loyal. Sir Arthur Chichester, the

Lord Deputy, was a man of strict Puritan tendencies, and determined to act rigorously on the proclamation. Accordingly, sixteen of the aldermen and chief citizens of Dublin were ordered to attend Divine Service in Christchurch, and, on their not appearing, were heavily fined, and flung into prison by order of the Castle Chamber. The Roman Catholic peers and gentry petitioned the King, but the instigators of this movement were imprisoned, and Sir Patrick Barnwell sent into England and confined in the Tower. The taking of the Oath of Supremacy was enforced on all persons called to fill any office, civil or military, . . . the penalty of twelve pence for not attending church on every Sunday and holiday was sternly exacted by the Lord Deputy in Meath and Westmeath, in King's and Queen's counties, and by the presidential courts in the towns of Munster and Connaught. In England legislation had formed habits which had resulted in a general change of faith. The Irish Government fondly imagined that they could effect the same thing in Ireland. King James greatly increased the endowments of Trinity College. *He very wisely had the Bible and the Liturgy translated into Irish*, and copies of the same were supplied to the parish churches. But unfortunately the parish clergy were Englishmen, 'like the priests of Jeroboam taken from the basest of the people,' who knew no Irish, and consequently could not make use of the books, and their flocks profited nothing, . . . and yet the Government wondered that the people clung to the friars upon the hillside."[1]

[1] Walpole's *History of the Kingdom of Ireland*, pp. 169—175.

Mr. Walpole has been manifoldly deceived by his English authorities. 1. James the First did not get the Bible or part of the Bible translated into Irish, for the Irish New Testament was printed up to the seventh chapter of St. Luke eight years before his accession, and the whole New Testament one year before that happy (?) event; the edition of 1602 is in the libraries of Trinity College, of the King's Inns, and of St. Patrick's.

2. No Spanish or English Jesuit came to Ireland "openly" or otherwise in the reign of King James, or indeed of Elizabeth, only one Spanish Jesuit had come, and that secretly, in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

The various histories of the Society and Brother Foley's *Records of the English Province*, and my *Hibernia Ignatiana*, in which the original official documents of those times have been printed, establish that beyond all doubt. This last work and the foregoing sketch of Father De la Field show that only two Irish Jesuits, Archer and Fitz-Simon, came to Ireland, and that secretly, in 1596, and FitzSimon was captured in 1599, and imprisoned for five years. Holywood was coming secretly in 1599, when he was arrested at Dover and imprisoned; De la Field reached Ireland in 1599, was captured and imprisoned, but escaped; Brother Collins came and was hanged, drawn, and quartered; Leinich and Murony came in 1601, Wall and O'Kearney in 1603, Holywood in 1604, and Wise in 1605. All these constantly petitioned Father General to send more workers into the vineyard; but so few were sent that according to the Catalogue of Irish Jesuits of 1609, preserved

in the Roman Archives, S.J., and printed at p. 228 of the *Hibernia Ignatiana*, there were only eighteen Jesuits in Ireland, while there were seventeen in Spain, thirteen in Portugal, twelve in Italy, six in Belgium, two in Upper Germany, two in France, one in Austria, and one in Paraguay.

4. None of these Jesuits took an active part in the recent wars; we have seen this in the case of Brother Collins, and shall see it in the case of Father Archer, about whom alone could be the slightest ground of suspicion. We shall bring forward the hostile statements made about the latter to Fathers De la Field and Wise, which even if true, which we believe them not to be, would not show that of the Jesuits not any, much less "many, took an active part in the wars, even fighting desperately in the field."

5. What is said about the Hierarchy is not true, as may be seen by consulting Dr. Maziere Brady's work on the Irish Episcopate.

6. It is not a fact that many Jesuits were hanged; only one had that happiness at the period we are speaking of, and Father Holywood, in excusing the Irish portion of the Society for this, says to his General that it was not the fault of the Jesuits, but of the Irish gentry and people, who would not betray them as was done so often in England.

7. That the Irish people "commonly went naked, even the women," is an abominable falsehood. The mendacious Fynes Morgeon says something like it; but Boulaye Le Gouz, who wrote an account of his tour in Ireland about 1641, says nothing of this, which would have struck him at once. Of course,

when the Lord President Carew tells us that he and his soldiers "burned the houses and corn," and that they marched southwards "harassing the country and killing *all mankind* that were found therein, . . . not leaving behind us man or beast, or corn, or cattle,"[1] the poor people who escaped had little wool or anything else from which to manufacture covering for themselves. But the Jesuits, in all their confidential letters, never mention the nudity of the inhabitants, nor does the Blessed Edmund Campion in his graphic *Historie of Ireland.* Le Gouz says, "The Irish, whom the English call savages, have for their head-dress a little blue bonnet raised two fingers' breadth in front, and behind covering the head and ears; their doublet has a very long body, and four skirts; their breeches are a pantaloon of white frieze. For cloaks they have five or six yards of frieze drawn round the neck, the body, and over the head, and they never quit this mantle, either in sleeping, working, or eating. The generality of them have no shirts. The northern Irish have for their only dress a breeches and a covering for the back, without bonnet, shoes, or stockings; the women of the north have a double rug girded round their middle and fastened to *the throat;* the girls of Ireland, even those living in the towns, have for their head-dress only a ribbon, and when married they have a napkin on the head in the manner of the Egyptians; the body of their gowns comes only to their breasts, and *when they are at work* they gird their petticoats with their sash."

[1] *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 189, 645, &c.

Sacchini, in his *Historia Societatis Jesu*, tells us that Father Wolfe, Apostolic Nuncio, reported to Father General that he reached Cork on the 20th of January, 1561, and witnessed a most extraordinary spectacle. The people came to him from even sixty miles to get confession, they came in crowds, *with bare feet and covered with only one garment*—"Miranda specie inde usque ab 60 passuum millibus gregatim *viros fœminasque* accurrere *nudis* pedibus *uno tantum indusio tectos.*"[1]

[1] *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 12.

X.

FATHER HENRY FITZSIMON.

THE name of this remarkable Jesuit is not to be found in Payne's *Universal Index of Biography*, though he was one of the most memorable figures in Ireland at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. From his family descended in the female line Primate Ussher and the Duke of Wellington, and after these two men he was more distinguished than all those who are mentioned in Mr. Ball Wright's *History of the Ussher Family*. According to Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*,[1] "he was esteemed the chief disputant among those of his party, and so ready and quick that few or none would undertake to deal with him; he was a pillar of the Catholic Church, being esteemed in the better part of his life a great ornament among them, and the greatest defender of their religion in his time." "His enemies agreed in praising his eminent talents for controversy and his extraordinary facility of extempore speaking; and it is doubtful whether as a controversialist he was ever equalled by his kinsman and opponent, James Ussher."[2] "He was a subtle professor of philosophy, a great athlete of Christ, renowned in

[1] Edited by Bliss, iii. 96.
[2] Moréri's *Dictionnaire Historique*, v. Fitzsimon.

his prison, powerful in controversy, and successful in bringing back wanderers to the faith; how great a man he was can be judged from his writings."[1] His opinions were considered of great weight, and were often quoted by writers on the Continent. In the *History of the Province of Upper Germany, S.J.*,[2] his testimony and that of other *viri gravissimi*, such as Spondanus, Lambecius, and Possevinus, are given concerning the merits of the celebrated Gretser; and Ponce de Leon quotes him in his Approbation of Nieremberg's *Varones Ilustres.*

His career was chequered and somewhat stormy. As professor of philosophy, missioner, controversialist, prisoner, military chaplain, war correspondent, and writer, he let his light shine before friends and foes; and his social, literary, missionary, and, if I may so express it, his militant gifts, won and commanded a large share of attention over a very wide field. A convert to the Catholic Church, he was very much in earnest, energetic, bold, and aggressive in her defence, both at home and abroad. To that defence he enthusiastically devoted his life-work, his immense force of character, his chivalrous courage, his brilliant talents, and his fearless and uncompromising love of truth. Not many, if any, Irishmen have known, or been known by, so many men of mark. He was nine or ten years old when the Blessed Edmund Campion lived and moved among Fitzsimon's relatives in Dublin; at ten he was sent to study at Manchester; he afterwards pursued his studies at Oxford and at the University of Paris, where he cultivated the acquaintance of Fleming, Darbishire, and Tyry;

[1] Bishop Routh, in *Hibernia Resurgens.* Edit. 1621. [2] Decas ix.

thence he went to Pont-à-Mousson University, of which Father Fleming was Chancellor, and after a visit to Rome, he became the pupil of Lessius at Douay, where he was appointed professor of philosophy, and formed an acquaintance with Lombard and Rosweyde. In Ireland he was well known to the court of Essex, if not to Essex himself; and in the Low Countries and Germany he won the friendship or formed the acquaintance of the Duke de Croy, Marshal Duke de Bucquoy, Tilly, Wallenstein, Piccolomini, Spinola, Tieffenbach, Lichtenstein, Montecuculli, the Prince of Anhalt, and the veteran Count Edward Fitzgerald, who covered himself with glory at the siege of Ostend, and contributed signally to the victory of the White Mountain at Prague.

In the sixteenth century there were three families of Fitzsimons, "all of name and account in Dublin." They lived at Swords, Balmadrocht, and the Grange, and "they were for the most part buried in the Church of St. Tullock." William Fitzsimon incurred the displeasure of the Government on account of his attachment to the Faith, and he, or another William, buried the martyred body of Dr. O'Hurley. Michael was a Papist impossible to be reformed; Edward was Prime Sergeant-at-law from 1574 to 1594, and opposed the trial and execution of Archbishop O'Hurley, and, like all the Irish lawyers of his day, was a "thwarter and hinderer of the Reformation." Father Michael, son of a Dublin alderman, was one of eleven priests and Jesuits seized in Munster and Connaught in 1593, and for being a priest, he was hanged in the corn-market of Dublin. Dr. Leonard

Fitzsimon, Professor of Divinity, is praised by our Father Henry for having reflected honour on his native land, and advanced the cause of our country to his greatest power, giving it many rare helps to the glory of God and the discomfiture of heretics, leaving his glorious memory in benediction. Henry, the subject of this memoir, was, I believe, of the family of Swords. He was born on the 31st of May, 1566. His father was Nicholas, a Dublin alderman (or "senator"), gentleman, and eldest son of Sir Thomas Fitzsimon. His mother was Anna Sedgrave. Henry was uncle of a Catholic gentleman named Carey, and was linked in kindred with Dr. Christopher Cusack, "a man of honourable descent and alliance with the noblest ranks," and also with "part of the issue of Primate Loftus, who raised his plentiful brood to noble alliances and lofty estates." He was a kinsman of Henry and James Ussher, Protestant Primates of Armagh. He was also related to the Stanihursts, and Taylor of Swords.[1] At the age of ten, he was "inveigled into heresy;" studied grammar, humanities, and rhetoric for four years at Manchester, whither he was sent, I suppose, in order to be nursed in Puritanism, his parents being probably dead at that time. He was a youth of great natural gifts, *magnis naturæ viribus instructus*, as we are informed by Father Young, his contemporary; and he says of himself: "I have a natural repugnance to all deceit, and, whatever faults I may have had, all my acquaintances will justify me, that I have

[1] In the *Dictionary of National Biography* it is stated that Fitzsimon's mother was sister of Sidgreave of Inglewight, in Lancashire, but she really was of the family of the Segraves of Killeglan and Cabra, from which came many Irish Jesuits.

ever, from a child, abhorred swearing and lying. For one thing I am very thankful to our Reformers, that they imitate less every day the corrupt custom of loose Catholics, who swear on every occasion 'by the Masse;' yet I am sorry they have preceded to a greater inconvenience by what succeedeth, as I show them in this epigram:

In elder times an ancient custom 'twas
To swear in weighty matters 'By the Masse;'
But when Mass was put down, as old men note,
They swore then 'By the Cross of this grey Grote;'
And when the Cross likewise was held in scorn,
Then 'Faith and Trouth' for common oaths were sworn
But now men banished have both Faith and Trouth,
So that 'G. d—n me' is the common oath.—
Thus custom keeps decorum by gradation,
Losing Mass, Cross, Faith, Truth—followeth Damnation."

On the 26th of April, 1583, he was matriculated as a member of Hart Hall, and, according to the Oxford *Athenæ*, in December following, he, or some other Henry Fitzsimon, was elected student of Christ Church. He studied rhetoric again at Oxford, but, as he himself says, *leviter*, or not very closely.

He left the University in 1586 or 1587; but it is not true that he had previously "seen the vanity of Protestantism," and "embraced the Catholic religion," as Moréri[1] and Cooper[2] assert. So honest Anthony Wood[3] was mistaken in saying, "sure it was that he being then in his mind, if not before, a Roman Catholic, went beyond the seas and entered the Society of Jesus; his natural disposition being strongly inclined to controversy, he devoted himself to the study of the disputed points of religion."

[1] Moréri's *Dictionnaire Historique.*
[2] Cooper's *Biographical Dictionary.* [3] *Athenæ Oxon.*

Before he "went beyond the seas" he had come to Ireland and "given disedification in Dublin by his error" and by the pugnacity of his Protestantism, before he went to air his heresy on the Continent.

Fitzsimon writes of himself:

"In the year 1587, being the twentieth of my age and the tenth of my education in heresie, I came to Paris so far overweening of my profession, that I surmised to be able to convert to Protestancie any encounterer whatsoever. Neither did I find any of the ordinarie Catholics whom I did not often gravel. At length, to my happiness, I was overcome by Father Thomas Darbyshire, an owld English Jesuit, who was a nephew of Bishop Bonner, had been formerlie Archdeacon of Essex, and had been a long time experienced in the reduction of many thousands to the Catholic religion. Only to holie water I remained squeamish, I know not how, rather by ignorant than obstinate or malicious doubtfulness. At the same time a vehement tormenting pain seized my third finger of the left hand, with that smarting grief that I thought often to chop it off. No fomentation could qualifie it. A holiday requiring my going to Masse, I would not in the first fervour of my devotion omit it, not knowing then but that I was bound thereto notwithstanding all pain Repairing, therefore, to St. Severin's Church, my pain redoubled in such scorching excess, that I teared and groaned in the greatest agonie; and being near the holie water font, I plunged in my whole hand, not then for devotion, but for refrigeration. To Thee, O Lord my God! be all praise for ever and ever, who at that very instant, insensiblie, entirelie, abundantlie,

didst heal me, without any sensible sign of my former pain, and with exclusion of all paleness thereby procured, in the presence of Mr. Henry Segrave, Mr. John Lea, Mr. Dominick Roche, and many others, giving me occasion to be confounded for my incredulitie, and eternallie thankful for my deliverance. To Thee, therefore, again and again, be all glory for ever and ever! Amen."[1]

"Because I embraced the Holy Catholic Faith, Mr. Hewetson terms me an apostate, and so does Mr. Rider, who tried to corrupt me and win me back with the promise of a prebend. I cannot hate the person of one sometime deluded, considering my own misfortune to have been miscarried. Ignorance of childhood and blind education deceived me. I was defiled, I confess, with the same or like errors which I now discover and prosecute. Why do I spend so precious time and so much pains? Only to confound my errors and to do satisfaction to truth and religion which I impugned. This also was the cause that, for two years after my return to Dublin, I was burning to dispute with the ring-leaders of the Reform—I wished it even, for this reason alone, that where my error had given disedification, my condemnation of error might wipe away the stain.

"I confess to the temperate Protestant reader to have been a long time brought up in Protestancie, and to have waded therein with confidence, professing it in Catholic countries, not without as well *danger as firm intention to have died for it.* And when I did abandon it, it was not for any greater temporal preferment as is known publicly by what

[1] Fitzsimon's *Sacrifice of the Masse*, p. 115.

I then was, and by what possibilities I had in respect of what I now am, and do pretend to be."[1]

How long young Fitzsimon lived exposed to some danger from the Parisian citizens; how often he disputed on matters of religion, "with all encounterers whatever;" how long he remained in vehement conflict with the ideas of those around him; how many he "gravelled" before he was converted by the "owld Jesuit," it were hard to tell. All we know is that he had been studying at the University of Paris before the time of his reception into the true Church. In his book entitled *Britannomachia*, or the "Battle of the British Ministers," he glories in the fact that the great French University owed its origin to Irishmen, and he thankfully records that it "brought him back to the true fold." From these words we may conclude, that other forces and influences besides the talent of Father Darbyshire contributed to his conversion, which was determined or precipitated by his trial of strength with that holy man.

Fitzsimon seems to have gone to Rome after his conversion, as appears from the following passage addressed to Dean Rider, written before he went to Rome as a Jesuit: "Mr. Rider, do not St. Bernard's words nearly belong to you, in your last attire wherein I did behold you, when you came forth in your short cloak and short cassock, ungirded, and lifted before and on both sides, to present in sight a great trunk pair of French russet or dowk purple leather breeches? And at other times, when you ruffle and glitter in your satin gown faced with

[1] Fitzsimon's *Reply to Rider*, chapter headed, "To the Temperate Protestant Reader."

velvet, in your silks, in your pontificalibus? Upon my conscience, among all the princes of blood of the clergy whom I viewed in Rome and elsewhere, I did behold none so player-like, or whose altars were less bright than their spurs, as yours and your own self. What I might say of others of the same crew I leave to another time."

He went to Pont-à-Mousson University in 1587, and studied rhetoric for one year, philosophy for three years, from 1588 to 1591, and took out his degree of Master of Arts. Then he read theology for three months at Pont-à-Mousson, and for seven weeks at Douay, privately studying casuistry at the same time. Having been received into the Society by Father Oliver Manare, at Douay, he went to the Novitiate of Tournay on April 15, 1592. His father was dead at that time.[1]

In his treatise on the Mass he thus gives his reason for joining the Society: "To my Fathers and Brothers of the Society of Jesus, I cannot choose but applaud, that as they are known to be most behated by the precursors of Antichrist, so also they may presume to be most persecuted by Antichrist himself, as, by their very name of Jesuits and whole profession, his adversaries. And I glory as much as in any other commendation of my Order, that by heretics we are called the janizaries of the Pope, who most impugn the impiety of heretics, who most rescue others from their conjuration, who most arm others against their fraud, and who most by them are abhorred, rejected, and by prisons and penalties most of all

[1] Entry written by Fitzsimon in the Album of the Novitiate of Tournay.

Catholics maliciously maligned—whereof, among a thousand other proofs, the late procurement in Ireland to have only Jesuits withdrawn out of the countrie deserveth to be registered. It is, says St. Jerome, a sign of great glory to be particularly detested by heretics; and for this very particular glory, as I have elsewhere protested, I acknowledge to have elected the Jesuits' standard, under which I might militate to my Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ, and to His sacred spouse, the Catholic Church."

On June 2, 1593, he was sent to pursue his theological studies in Louvain, under the famous Father Lessius, to whom he testifies his grateful affection in his *Britannomachia.* There also it was that he made the intimate acquaintance of Father Rosweyde and Dr. Peter Lombard. He so distinguished himself, that he was appointed to the chair of philosophy in the famous College of Douay, where, out of one thousand two hundred students, three hundred and forty were studying philosophy. "He paid," says Wood, "the closest attention to his public duties and private studies, and became thoroughly acquainted with all the controverted points of belief." His success drew from a good judge, Bishop Rothe of Ossory, the exclamation: "What shall I say of Henry Fitzsimon?—that subtle professor of philosophy at Douay, that great athlete of Christ, renowned in his chains, strong in defending the faith, and successful in bringing back wanderers to the fold."[1] At this time, or even about the year 1591, he was drawn to the study of Irish history, for he tells, at p. 119 of his work on

[1] Rothe's *Hibernia Resurgens.* Edit. 1621.

the Mass, published in 1611, how in twenty years' search he could never find any suspicion to the contrary of his opinion, that Ireland "received pure beginning of Christianity between the years 203 and 227." He tells us that he "ransacked all libraries in his way for our countrie's antiquities, and found a hand-written Life of St. Patrick in the library of our College of Douay."

About the year 1595, "the Irish exiles, everywhere dispersed by persecution," sent a petition to the Pope, stating that "proper instructors were wanting in Ireland." "We are most anxious," they say, "that fit and competent persons may be sent to our country. Wherefore, most Holy Father, we lay our wishes and those of our people at the feet of your Holiness. . . . Since (a most merciful God preserving the seed for us) there are of our nation some priests of the Society of Jesus, well able to produce the greatest fruit in our fatherland, we humbly beg that some of these priests may be sent, under the auspices of your Holiness, into the yellow harvest of Ireland." O'Neill, after having defeated at Clontibret Sir John Norreys, the most experienced of Elizabeth's Generals, backed up this petition.

There were at that time about forty Irish Jesuits. Father Houling, who had been on the Irish Mission before, was in Lisbon, where he had founded a College for Irish youth; Father Rochford, who had toiled many years in that vineyard, had just gone to his reward. There were no Fathers fixed in the country for about ten years, though they paid flying visits to it, and did their best for it in foreign lands, at Douay, Salamanca, Lisbon, and else-

where. The mission was one of the oldest of the Society—"it was founded by St. Ignatius, continued by Laynez, much increased by St. Francis Borgia, and encouraged and fostered by Aquaviva." For this arduous mission Father General selected Fitzsimon and the famous Father Archer, who, with Father Thomas White, had founded the Irish College of Salamanca, of which he was first Rector. Archer, under the assumed name of Bowman, the Saxon form of his Norman name, landed at Waterford in October, 1596, and, no doubt, Fitzsimon reached Dublin about the same time. We learn that date from the State Papers; but probably they went to the North before that, as the Protestant Bishop of Cork wrote on the 6th of July: "Tyrone hath three English Jesuits with him. The young merchants in the cities and towns go to their Masses with their daggers and pistols ready prepared. I have not *five* at service nor *three* at Communion. I wish, *and I speak with all humility*, that these seducers, as priests, friars, Jesuits, and seminaries and their maintainers, be restrained, and some sharp punishment devised for them."

In the year 1597 the Father General wrote to Father Archer and Father Fitzsimon congratulating them on their success, and at the same time warning them to be mindful of the times, and not to compromise in any way the safety of their countrymen. On the 10th of August, 1598, Father Archer writes to Father General: "Your letter of the 14th of March did not reach me till the 1st of August, although Father Fitzsimon got it three months before that time; since my arrival I have

been very hard pressed, and I have seen Father Fitzsimon only once, and then for less than an hour." On the 25th of September, 1598, Father Hamill, a secular priest, says that Father Fitzsimon "pursues his missionary career with not less fruit than Father Archer. On Sundays and festivals he preaches to great crowds with ardent zeal and absolute forgetfulness of self. He *converts hundreds* to the faith. Not to speak of others who have returned to the Catholic Church in Dublin, one hundred persons, who last year communicated according to the Protestant fashion, this year received instruction, reconciliation, confession, and Communion from this good Father. The Catholics were edified at the tears, the repentance, and the fervour of these converts. Lest there might be too great a crowd, and lest too much attention might be attracted, it was arranged that sixty should receive Communion one day and forty the next. This created a holy rivalry to be on the first day, and to have the happiness of receiving our Lord at the banquet of His love. The Catholics were so struck with the novelty and piety of the scene that for many days they spoke of nothing else, and thanked Almighty God for the grace conferred on the converts and on the whole Irish Church. As the Catholics increased daily, Father Fitzsimon thought it well to erect a chapel in the house of a nobleman, at which the faithful might assemble. He got the hall lined with tapestry and covered with carpets, and had an altar made, which was as handsome and as elegantly furnished and decorated as any altar in Ireland; and he had High Mass celebrated with full orchestra, com-

posed of harps, lutes, and all kinds of instruments except the organ. Before High Mass there were three Low Masses, at which very many partook of the Bread of Angels with incredible sweetness of Divine consolation. After the Gospel, Father Fitzsimon preached with immense success and fruit, and after Mass he received many into the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin. The Sodality has been established in Dublin, and in it are families of the first rank; it flourishes and increases every day. The joy of all was unbounded, as that High Mass was *the first solemn Mass celebrated for the last forty years.* I cannot put in a letter all that deserves to be written about the piety and perseverance of our people. Father Fitzsimon, in order to provide for the salvation of all of them, makes various apostolic excursions. Always ready, eager, and burning to help his countrymen, he allows himself no rest. Wherever he goes or tarries, he speaks of God and of things of God; he teaches the heads of families their duties, and how to live in the fear and love of God. They obey him carefully, and carry out his plans, and are devoted to Christian piety. Moreover, he has got together twelve youths, well educated and disciplined, virtuous and talented, whom he intends to send to Flanders. He has also some young virgins, who have already consecrated themselves to God by a vow of perpetual virginity, and who await in Dublin an opportunity of sailing, to join a religious order on the Continent. Most loving Father, if twenty of our Fathers were sent to Ireland the whole country would soon be brought back to the true faith. All they want are guides;

wherefore, take care to send thither all who know Irish or English. No one will interfere with their missionary labours in that kingdom. The Viceroy, hearing about the doings of Father Fitzsimon, invited him to dispute with the parsons. Father Henry accepted the invitation; but they were afraid, and declined to have anything to do with Jesuits and Seminarists. They preferred flying before the fight to flying after defeat, and they suffered all the greater confusion that they used to boast that no Papist in Ireland or in the universe could withstand their attacks.

"The Catholics go armed to Mass in order to protect the priests and themselves, and hence the parsons, who formerly enriched themselves by their raids on the 'Mass-houses,' are afraid to prowl about in search of altar ornaments. These things I have abridged from the letter of Patrick Hamill (says Father Leinich). In conclusion, I earnestly beg that you will obtain for me, an unworthy and useless servant, the favour of being sent to that holy and happy mission of Ireland. This favour I have asked for a long time from Father General, and from your predecessor.

"From this College of St. Anthony, Lisbon, the 25th of September, 1598,—NICHOLAS LEINICH."

In November, 1598, Father Fitzsimon tells how his adversaries, *challenged by him*, would not meet him in discussion. They laid snares to capture him; he got notice from the magistrates and escaped; had gone through various parts of the kingdom with good results, converted six heretics, very many schismatics, heard an immense number of confessions; preached every Sunday and holi-

day, and some people travelled twenty miles to hear him; he reconciled three great lords who were at feud and bent on shedding blood.

About this time Father Christopher Holywood, on his way to Ireland as Superior to the mission, was imprisoned in the Tower, from which, under the name of Bushlock, he wrote in 1599, that "Bertram's first-born (Father Archer), who lives in one part of the island, is called a favourer of sedition, and Bertram's younger son (Fitzsimon), who dwells in another part, is looked on as a propagator of heresy; he keeps within bounds, but is not cautious enough. Alas! our Ireland is a prey to disunion; it is quite divided, and is full of soldiers."

Father Field, in September, 1599, reports that Father Fitzsimon is working hard; crowds flock to hear him and are converted; his Sodality is spreading the practices of solid piety; he collects money for the support of the Irish College at Douay; he leads rather an open, demonstrative life, never dines without six or eight guests, and, when he goes through the country, he rides with three or four gentlemen, who serve as companions; many leading men are brought to the fold. Father Fitzsimon adds at the same date that "many join the Church; in one day four Englishmen were converted by me, of whom three were men of distinction; the Sodality brings people to the sacraments; the whole town of Drogheda has joined it."

Father Fitzsimon, or Archer, was very near being taken prisoner at the Castle of Cahir by the Earl of Essex in May, 1599. Father Fitzsimon having

in vain challenged Doctors Hanmer and Challenor and others, desired to be taken prisoner, "that the ministers might know where to find him, and be tempted to accept his challenge, and thus he might atone in Dublin for the evil example of his heresy." His wish was gratified; while he was performing some pious function of his ministry he was seized, and he defended his captor, who otherwise would have been killed by the people. O'Neill, to whom Fitzsimon was no friend, demanded his instant release, saying: "I do feel myself more aggrieved, that any should for his religion be restrained in time of cessation of arms, than if there were a thousand preys taken from me; wherefore as ever you think, that I shall enter to conclude either peace or cessation with the State, let him be presently enlarged."

It is a wonder that Father Fitzsimon was not imprisoned much sooner. According to the Protestant writers, Wood and Ryan, "his unceasing exertions and convincing arguments gained many proselytes to the religion he professed. For two years before his imprisonment he continued this course, teaching publicly, and triumphing over the few who ventured to oppose him," giving abundant evidence of commanding talents as a speaker, and of a fearless spirit, and unbounded charity.[1] I suppose he went about in disguise like other priests of that period, one of whom was seen in Waterford with a "ruffling suit of apparel, gilt rapier and dagger hanging at his side."[2] He was in every way a worthy specimen of the Irish priests portrayed by Spencer, that "most poetical of all poets,"

[1] Oliver's *Collectanea.* [2] Rich's *Description of Ireland.*

to whom we are indebted for the *Faërie Queene*, and for a plan of exterminating the Irish race and religion. About the time of Fitzsimon's missionary labours the English bard wrote as follows: "The most part of the parsons that go to Ireland are either unlearned, or men of some bad note, for which they have forsaken England. It is great wonder to see the oddes which is between the zeal of the Popish priests and the ministers of the Gospell; for they spare not to come out of Spain, from Rome, and from Remes, by long toyle and dangerous travelling hither, where they know peril of death awaiteth them, and no reward or richesse is to be found, only to draw the people unto the Church of Rome; whereas some of our idle ministers, having a way for credit and estimation thereby opened unto them, and having the livings of the country offered unto them, without pains and without peril, will neither for the sake nor any love of God, nor zeal of religion, nor for all the good they may do by winning souls to God, be drawn forth from their warm nests, to look out into God's harvest. Doubtless these good old godly Fathers, St. Patrick and St. Columb, will rise up in the Day of Judgment to condemn them. Those priests should be effectually prevented from coming; for lurking secretly in the houses and corners of the country they do more hurt and hindrance to (the Protestant) religion with their private persuasions, than all the others can do with their public instruction. While we may find in the parsons gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshy incontinency, careless and all disordered life."[1]

[1] *View of the State of Ireland*, pp. 142, 139, 254.

But through God's mercy those priests could not be "effectually prevented from coming and lurking in the houses and corners of the country." Of God's special protection over them Father Fitzsimon gives some instances, and, he says, "innumerable like instances might be alleged, if brevitie permitted." Perhaps he could have given us some instances in his own person, and it is a pity that "brevitie" and "modestie" did not permit him to do so. In the year 1599, Walter Ball, a Dublin alderman and persecutor of his own mother and of the priests of God, "with a company of searchers, was looking for a holy and famous Franciscan, Father Peter Nangle, and a certain Father of the Society (Fitzsimon). Being disappointed, he went mad, died breathing blasphemies, and went to join in Hell all the other persecutors of priests." The same year Loftus, the Primate, procured a false witness to swear the same Father's (Fitzsimon's) life away. For eleven days the enemies' plans were matured, and they looked on his destruction as inevitable, while the Catholics were all anxiety about his fate; but God so disposed that "the rope broke and he was freed," and that the suborned witness deprived the Primate of his prey, and also of a large sum of money, with which he ran away. The Jesuit had many enemies, in fact, all the ministers hated and feared him. He had also a large circle of kind friends, who warned and protected him in time of need and danger. His affectionate heart never forgot them. They were Thomas Fagan, George Blacknie of Rickenhore, William Nugent, Michael Taylor, a Baron and Baroness who are anonymous,

and, no doubt, also the Fitzsimons of Swords, of the Grange, and of Balmadrocht.

Although he gives us to understand that hospitality was on the decline in Dublin, since he compares Rider's challenge to "the new requesting friends to meals—with many cups, but without hospitalitie," yet it must have been very hearty in his day, or must have been practised by himself. For he never dined without six or eight guests, and when he went to the country he rode with three or four gentlemen, who acted as his companions and protectors. Here we get a glimpse of Irish hospitality in the days of long ago, of that hospitality to which the English writer, Holinshed, bears testimony concerning Father Fitzsimon's grandfather:

"The Lord Mayors of Dublin, and nominally Thomas Fitzsimon, excel in hospitality, and the whole city is generally addicted to such ordinary and standing houses, as it would make a man muse how they are able to bear it out, but only for the goodness of God, the upholder of hospitalitie. What should I say also of their alms daily and hourly extended to the needy! so that the poor are so charitably succoured, as they make the whole citie in effect their hospital." No doubt, Father Fitzsimon had those six or eight guests about him or his hosts every day, not merely to satisfy his expansive nature, but to further the work of his mission. Doubtless, the guests were often Protestants, who were more hungry for truth than for a dinner, and many of whom owed their conversion to the table-talk of Father Fitzsimon, as Sir Everard Digby and others were brought to

the Church by Father Gerard, who gained souls to God, not only at a dinner-table, but also in the hunting-field.

In July, 1600, Father Field says, Father Fitzsimon "had been in close custody for two months, but now enjoys a little more liberty." About the same time Cecil is informed that "Harry Fitzsimon, now a prisoner in Dublin, who gallantly maintained the Bull of Pius Quintus against her Majesty, was educated in the Irish College of Douay, and his spleen against the State was grafted in him only there; in it at present are sixty young gentlemen, eldest sons of the principal gentlemen of the Pale, and they all speak Irish."[1]

For three years and a half he was watched so closely that he could not write to Father General, whom he thus addresses in his letter of April, 1603: "Having at last found an opportunity of writing to your Paternity, I most joyfully avail of it." Now and then we hear something of him from others. On July 20, 1600, he is said by Father Field to have been in close custody for two months, but now enjoys a little more freedom. On September 20, 1601, he is visited by Father Leinich, who reports that he is in good spirits and resigned to God's will, and as he has some kind of freedom at present (*alguna libertad*) and there is hope of his being let out in a month, he says Mass sometimes, does a great deal of spiritual good in that place, converts heretics and schismatics, and solves cases of conscience presented to him by the faithful of the outer world. In February, 1603, he is reported by Father Field to

[1] State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* an. 1600, p. 496.

be still a captive, but not in chains or close custody; in July Father Wall and Father O'Kearney reached Dublin, and reported that Fitzsimon, hearing of their arrival, wrote to them two or three letters, and they answered him by a long letter, which greatly consoled him. They could not possibly visit him, so strictly was he guarded on account of the *enmity of some* people towards him.[1] This hostility of the Dean of St. Patrick's and others may account for Father Fitzsimon's detention after Father Holywood had been liberated from Framlingham Castle, in the month of May, 1603. Father Holywood, on April 24, 1604, writes "from the Co. of Kildare in our Japan:" "Father Henry is offered liberty to go beyond the seas, but under certain conditions; it is a favour, indeed, but we shall examine at once whether and how it is to be accepted." The 6th of May he writes from the Co. of Dublin: "We expect every day the liberation of Father Henry, if indeed exile can be called liberty."

Father Fitzsimon says: "Being disappointed in my hopes of a controversy with the enemies of the faith, I desired to fall into their hands, provided it happened without any fault of mine, that they might know where to find me. Instead of conclusions to be impugned I found insurmountable inclusion in the Castle; instead of fair conditions I was met by calumnious accusations of treason; instead of scholastic discussion I found cruel crosses and cages and strapados." The word which Father Fitzsimon uses, is *catastæ*, which, according to the Latin dictionary, signifies, "cages,

[1] *Hib. Ignatiana*, p. 135.

in which slaves were kept, or strapados, or the like, on which Christians used to be tortured." The prisoner continues: "From the time the Spaniards landed (September, 1601), before anything else was done, care was taken that I should be kept in the closest custody, and be deprived of books and of every comfort that might alleviate the monotonous misery of prison life. The official, to whose tender care I was confided, was a second 'Jonathas the Scribe,' and would to God that he found in me another Jeremy. By employing the most savage keepers he can get, by flogging some for being indulgent to me, by dismissing eight of them on that ground alone, and by suborning false witnesses against me, he shows the excess of his hatred against the name which we bear, and the end which we have in view. But nothing is so galling to him as to find that his ferocity provokes neither resistance nor resentment on my part. I have left nothing undone to appease and soften him, but in vain. While he held me in the closest confinement, reports were everywhere spread that 'I was about to become a Protestant, and to go to church in a few days, and that I had stated so with my own hand in a paper which he had in his possession.' As I enjoyed the friendship or exceeding good-will of a great many, this report reached me very soon, and I at once went up to a high gallery, to which I have been sometimes able to go in order to take some fresh air. I saw a large number of persons assembled for various games or amusements in the court below, and I cried out to them, that I was so far from wishing to turn a Protestant, that I would rather become

a Jew or a Turk. Thus I silenced the calumny, and strengthened and comforted the faithful; but I so incensed my enemies, that from that hour I have never been able to obtain the slightest indulgence or favour. During the time of my incarceration, one Bishop, three Franciscans, and six secular priests recovered their liberty by solicitation, money, or exchange of prisoners. No supplication, no influence, no favour, no justice or iniquity, no fair means nor foul means, could get freedom for me, for I was a Jesuit, though the least son of the Society of Jesus. Blessed be that Name, so terrible and hateful to the enemies of God! 'He alone who receiveth that name, written in a white counter, knows and feels how sweet it is, and tastes and sees that its traffic is good.' My adversaries are every day in a thousand ways striving to destroy my life, and they hope soon to be able to put me to death. . . . I have been five years in prison, and I have been brought eight times before the Supreme Court, but I have always been, through God's goodness, superior to all circumstances, and proof against all attacks. The Governor of the prison has been my deadly enemy, and has often plotted against my life. For three years he watched most intently to catch me celebrating Mass. At last, on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, he rushed in on me just as I was ending the *Pater noster* of the Mass. I saved the Sacred Host from the sacrilegious wretch; but he wrested the chalice from me, and the Divine Blood was sprinkled all about the cell. He took also the vestments. My conscience tells me that I had omitted nothing to prevent such a horrid sacrilege.

But the cunning of the man who lies in wait is greater than all possible precaution. Through the malignity of this man, it is very difficult for any one to speak with me. He has surrounded me with the most cruel guards and spies that his malice could find out: nevertheless, by the Divine help, I have, in the space of one month, brought back to the bosom of the Church seven Protestants, one of whom is my head jailer. The Constable of the Castle was my deadly enemy. . . . I was in the midst of Dean Rider's friends, and *they never used such restraint and wardings to any criminal as to me.*"

To understand the meaning of these words of the prisoner, let us read them by the light of the history of contemporary "criminals." The restraints and miseries of prison life were appalling in those days, so long before the time of Howard, the philanthropist. A cell in Douay College, or even in Spike Island or Dartmoor, would be a paradise compared with a cell of Dublin Castle. I omit to speak of what this confessor of the faith suffered by the exclusion from all intercourse with his brethren at home or abroad, which, he often says, preyed much on his sensitive and affectionate soul; I omit to write of the annoyance he suffered from the calumnious report of his perversion, and from the ingenious cruelties of the Governor. I shall merely speak of his physical suffering. When Dr. Creagh was accused of running away from the Castle, he answered: 'I think no man shall wonder at my leaving Dublin Castle that should know how I was dealt therein withal; first in a hole, where, without candle there is no light in

the world, and with a candle, when I had it, it was filled with the smoke thereof, that had there not been a hole in the next door to draw in breath with my mouth set upon it, I had been perhaps shortlie undone. My dwelling in this tower for more than a month, would make a strong man wish for liberty, if for his life he could."

While Father Henry was in prison, de Burgo, Baron of Brittas, was thrown into the Castle, because he was a zealous and uncompromising Papist. While there this young Christian hero gave himself up to devotion, to the recitation of the Hours and the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin, to pious reading and meditation. He was so absorbed in these acts, that he did not mind the mice that swarmed on his bed, gnawed the bed-clothes and pillow, and crept on his body and on his neck.[1] Fitzsimon has not told us that he had formed a particular friendship with these interesting creatures; but if he were treated more cruelly than this noble "criminal," he must have been exposed to the same familiarities.

Another martyr, who was hanged, drawn, and quartered, in 1611, was imprisoned in the Castle while Fitzsimon was there. This was the venerable Bishop of Down, who would have died of hunger and thirst, if necessity had not taught him an extraordinary way of getting something to eat and drink. There were in the Castle at that time persons imprisoned for political offences, who at their own expense provided themselves with the necessaries of life. They lived in a cell under that of the Bishop, who could hear the dull sounds

[1] Rothe's *Analecta.*

of their voices, but could not see them or speak to them. Looking for some chink through which to make known his starving state to them, he found a loose brick, raised it, and through the aperture thus made was able to manifest his wants. His fellow-prisoners were more willing than able to help him, and offered him a crust of bread and a drink of beer; but could not find out how he could take it. The Bishop made a rope by tearing his trousers and drawers into strings, and in this way managed to haul up, now and then, a bit of stale loathsome bread and a glass of bad beer.[1]

If the Protestants used "more restraints and wardings" with Fitzsimon, than with such "criminals" as the Primate of Armagh, the Bishop of Down, and the Baron of Brittas, he must have suffered much indeed.

The ministers persecuted him not without a purpose; they endeavoured to break down and shatter his health and spirits: they isolated him and kept him in the darkness or twilight of a dungeon in order to dim the brilliancy of his intellect, and to blunt the keenness of his logic and the sharpness of his inexorable wit, and then force on him a discussion in their own time and on their own terms. But he never lost the elasticity and festivity of his temper, and his face never ceased to flash controversy on the enemies of the faith; to one of whom, the Dean of St. Patrick's, he wrote: "I would *fain behold them in the face* that would term St. Austin, St. Gregory, and St. Bernard forgers and impostors, whom if I could

[1] Rothe's *Analecta.*

but *look at* in a Christian assembly, I would not doubt but their own countenance, how shameless soever, would detect their atheistical impiety and presumption to be worthy of execration."

According to the historian of Oxford, he was esteemed the most able and astute disputant among the Catholics, and was so ready and quick, that few or none would undertake to deal with him, and he was so eager for the fray, that in prison he often said he was like a bear tied to a stake, and only wanted some one to bait him.

We may judge of his bearing from the following words addressed to him in prison by his opponents. Ussher says: "Mr. Fitzsimon, your spear belike is in your own conceit a weaver's beam, and your abilities such that you desire to encounter with the stoutest champion in the host of Israel, and, therefore, like the Philistine, you condemn me as being a boy." Bishop Rider writes: "Fitzsimon hath a fluent tongue; he is bewitched with self-conceit; is a gentleman well-learned, as Catholics account him. You must needs deal with him in writing, for otherwise in words he is too hard for a hundred of you, for you shall find him old dogge in *copia verborum, et inopia rerum.* He proclaims still, with his stentorian voice, to every corner of the kingdom, that Rider is overthrown horse and foot."

To this Fitzsimon answers: "You say you must deal with me in print because I am too hard for a hundred in speech. You are here 'taken by your own talk.' You cannot conceal the confusion you had ever in talking with me, when at every word I disproved and disturbed your conceits—which you heedfully managed to happen most seldom,

and speedily to be abrupted. I do but appeal to Mr. Tristram Eccleston, Constable of the Castle, whether it was so or no. If he will not disgrace his gossip, at least Mr. Alderman Jans, Luke Shee, Esquyer, and others, can tell the plunge you and Minister Baffe wallowed in at our last meeting. So, then, to God be glory, and never to me, you felt the brunt of my words at that time by your own confession to be irrefragable."[1]

Again he writes: "On my arrival in my native land, I heard of the boasted readiness of the sectaries to hold discussions on points of belief, and I asked a safe conduct to hold a discussion in presence of the Governors of the kingdom. This I asked through two illustrious Catholics. The Council was astonished at the boldness of the request, and after deliberating for some days, refused to grant it. Seeing them afraid lest their errors would be exposed to the public, I tried in many ways to stimulate and provoke the chief Protestants, Hanmer and Challenor, to hold a private discussion with me. For the space of two years I was burning to dispute with them, even for this alone, that where my error had given disedification, my condemnation of error might wipe away the stain."

The first man whom the Jesuit challenged was Dr. Challenor, chief minister among the Protestants of his day, who calls Fitzsimon "cousin," and is called "cousin" by him; and such they were, it appears, for Rider says: "Maister Fitzsimon wrote to his cousin, Dr. Challenor." Fitzsimon gives us

[1] Rider's *Rescript and Caveat*, p. 53, and Fitzsimon's *Reply*, p. 44.

the following details about him: "As I knew that the Protestants considered Challenor as one of their champions, I challenged him. He refused to have any dealing with the Jesuits, because they were disliked by his Sovereign. This was an excuse created by his cowardice. Luke Challenor is their inert Achilles, but he is really an Acheloüs —a hissing serpent or a helpless bull who has lost his horns. He is a Doctor of Divinity, God bless the mark! and of such little wisdom, that he, to be a Doctor, could find no matter in. Divinitie or other science of disputation, but out of all Divinitie and partly contrary to it, only these three ridiculous theses, which are in part blasphemous paradoxes: *Christ descended into Hell, The Church of Rome had apostatized, Ireland was not Peter's Patrimonie.* I knew him well in Dublin, he is a manifest seducer, notorious for his impiety and undutifulness to his mother, his levity with regard to celibacy, his perfidy in perjury and treachery, his dishonesty towards marriage, &c. He could not first allow any marriage of ministers, but now the spirit hath so moved him, that, after once being married and plentifully multiplied, he hath taken a second wife. His puritanical perfidie is witnessed in his Andronical treason against Doctor Haddoc. After giving him the right hand with protestations of friendship, he secretly trained a draught to apprehend him, fulfilling the saying of the Prophet Jeremy: 'In his mouth he speaketh peace with his friend, and secretly he layeth ambush for him.' Though this worthy would hold no discussion with a Jesuit, because a Jesuit was a traitor, he insulted Bishop O'Dovany and Father

O'Locheran when they were standing at the foot of the gallows. He tried to prevent the octogenarian Bishop from saying his prayers, and 'to deal with' him, although he was about to be hanged as a 'traitor.' I presume he would have wished to see Fitzsimon 'the traitor' in the same position; but I am sure he would not even then have the courage to molest him, as he would be afraid of his 'transmarine logic, his fluency, his wit, and his stentorian voice.'"

Although Challenor would have no dealings with the Jesuit, another dignitary, Dean Meredith Hanmer, was prevailed upon to go to the Castle cell, and "to beard the lion in his den." He was a good kind of man, and as his memory has been neglected by Protestant historians, I will take the liberty of giving a brief sketch of him before I mention his relation with Fitzsimon. He was a Welshman, who became Chaplain of Christ Church in 1567; while he was Vicar of St. Leonard's, London, he converted the brass of several ancient monuments into coin. In 1581 he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity, translated into English the Ecclesiastical Histories of Eusebius, Socrates, Evagrius, and Dorotheus, and he also wrote an Ecclesiastical chronography. About the same time he published two virulent books about Father Campion, one of which was called, *The Great Bragg and Challenge of Mr. Campion, a Jesuit lately arrived in England, confuted and answered.* In 1586 he became Treasurer of Christ Church, wrote an *Ephemeris of the Irish Saints* and a *Chronicle of Ireland.* He died of the plague in Dublin, in 1604. Father Fitzsimon thus tells us

of his dealings with this Welsh worthy: "Hanmer, named in Father Campion's *Decem Rationes*, being prevailed upon by many high people, and, amongst others, by Sir William Warren, to dispute with me, came with them to my prison. As he remained silent, I, trusting in the goodness of my cause, undertook to defend what was weakest on our side, and to attack what seemed strongest on theirs. Being nettled by this, and stimulated by the cries of his friends and by the fear of disgrace, he said aloud: 'Hem! now, how do you prove that any one besides God can remit sins?' I answered: 'He who baptizes remits sins; but man baptizes; therefore man remits sins. If you deny the major, you are a Puritan, and you sin against the 27th Article.' . . . 'Hang the Puritans,' said he; and, amid the jeers of all present, he turned to the Governor of the prison, and accused him of treason for allowing me to talk against the King's religion."

From that moment there was a tacit compact between Fitzsimon and Hanmer, as appears from a letter written by Fitzsimon in 1604, in which he says: "Before her death Elizabeth had exhausted all her resources, and had to pay her army with brass money, which was worthless. Those who refused to take it were fined. Thus trade, fairs, and buildings were interrupted, and great poverty was the result. He, who fed Elias and Paul and others through the ministry of ravens, helped me in my great need by Meredith Hanmer. This gentleman gave me a barrel of beer and a barrel of flour. Moreover, he gave me the use of his library, and he has become so attached to me that

he does not allow any of the sectaries to speak ill of me, and he has breasted unpopularity for my sake. Since we have become acquainted, he avoids the pulpit and often attacks the Puritans. Hence he is suspected of a leaning towards Rome. However, the poor, dear soul is so much given to banqueting, and drinking, and jesting, and scoffing, that he will never have the wisdom of those who seek and find."

After Dean Hanmer's defeat, Ussher went to the prison and had some conversation with his kinsman the Jesuit. The biographers of this Protestant Primate give an absurd account of this affair, and they prop up their version of it by a real or forged letter of young Ussher. "In April, 1599, Essex arrived in Dublin. The University, in order to welcome their new Chancellor, had a solemn act performed for his entertainment, and Ussher was selected as the respondent in the philosophical disputation—a task which he performed with great applause. But he soon undertook a more serious disputation, encountering the learned Jesuit, Henry Fitzsimon." He wrote to the Jesuit as follows:

I was not prepared, Mr. Fitzsimon, to write unto you before you had first written unto me concerning some chief points of your religion, as at our last meeting you promised. But seeing that you have deferred the same (for reasons best known to yourself), I thought it not amiss to inquire further of your mind concerning the continuance of the conference begun between us. And to this I am rather moved because I am credibly informed of certain reports, which I would hardly be persuaded should proceed from him who, in my presence, pretended so great love and affection to me. If I am

a boy, as it hath pleased you very contemptuously to name me, I give thanks to the Lord that my carriage towards you hath been such as could minister no just occasion to despise my youth. Your spear belike is, in your own conceit, a weaver's beam, and your abilities such, that you desire to encounter with the stoutest champion in the host of Israel: and, therefore, like the Philistine, you contemn me as being a boy. Yet this I would fain have you to know, that . . . I come in the name of the Lord of hosts, being persuaded that even out of the mouths of babes and sucklings He was able to show forth His own praises. For the further manifestation whereof I do again earnestly request you that, setting aside all vain comparison of persons, we may go plainly forward in examining the matters that rest in controversy between us. Otherwise I hope you will not be displeased if, as for your part you have begun, so I also, for my own part, may be bold for the clearing of myself and the truths which I profess, freely to make known what hath already passed concerning this matter. Thus entreating you in a few lines to make known unto me your purpose in this behalf, I end.

Tuas (*sic*) ad aras usque,

JAMES USSHER.

Many Protestant writers claim for Ussher a victory which I think must be relegated to the realm of myths; and I suspect the letter was never written, or, if written, never sent to Fitzsimon. Ussher, at the age of fourteen, reduced into synoptical tables all the facts of ancient history, and studied with care the Scriptures and St. Augustine's Meditations; from fifteen to sixteen he drew up in Latin an exact chronicle of the Bible as far as the Book of Kings; at seventeen, having got a good knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, he *fell to* the study of polemical Divinity, read Stapleton's *Fortress of Truth,* and most other books in defence of Popery, that were in greatest

esteem at that time, and took a resolution to read over all the Fathers from the time of the Apostles to the Council of Trent.[1]

No doubt this desultory reading, writing, and arithmetic of a self-taught youth of eighteen was enough to make him very conceited and even very impertinent. But any one who has common sense, or a slight acquaintance with the nature of controversy, must see that this bolting and gluttonous study was poor training for an encounter with an old, a bold and practised disputant. His adversary was endowed with great natural gifts,[2] and, when a Protestant, "had devoted himself to the study of the disputed points of religion, his natural disposition being strongly inclined to controversy."[3] "At the age of twenty he was so far overweening of his profession that he thought he could convert to Protestantism any opponent whatever, and in fact did not find any ordinary Catholics whom he did not often gravel."[4] As a Catholic, after his studies at the Universities of Paris and Pont-à-Mousson, and the College of Douay, he became thoroughly acquainted with all the controverted points of belief;[5] having studied philosophy for three years at Pont-à-Mousson, he filled the chair of Mental Philosophy at Douay, where in his time there were three hundred and forty students in the classes of philosophy.[6] He was the most able and astute disputant among the

[1] Ware's *Irish Bishops.*

[2] "Magnis naturæ viribus instructus." (F. Young in *Life of Fitzsimon*, written in 1650.)

[3] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses.*

[4] Fitzsimon, *On the Mass*, p. 115, and Epistle Dedicatory.

[5] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses.* [6] *Annuæ Belgicæ, S.J.*

Catholics, and was so ready and quick that few or none would undertake to deal with him ;[1] and he had a fluent tongue, a stentorian voice, and in words he was too hard for a hundred.[2] The moment he returned to Ireland he sent, through the Lord Deputy, a challenge to the Protestant ministers, and then he sent special challenges to Drs. Challenor and Hanmer,[3] and he converted hundreds to the true religion. In 1598 one hundred of his converts of that year went to Communion at Easter ; in 1599 he converted so many that in one day he received into the Church four Englishmen, of whom three were men of distinction. In his prison he converted many in the year 1601. In 1604 he converted seven Protestants in one month, and among them his head gaoler or keeper,[4] and nine men of note between Easter and May. He says : "Neither to any other industry can I impute it, next to the effectual and merciful grace of God, to whom alone be all glory thereof, that, among hundred others by me reconciled, the ninth English minister in the very day of writing hereof (26th Oct., 1611) hath been purchased to the Christian and Catholic religion. I cannot, I say, ascribe it so much to any other observation as that I ever tied them to some irrevocable foundation, from which after they should not start or appeal."[5]

The learned Protestant, Bayle, laughs at the

[1] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses.*
[2] Dean of St. Patrick's *Rescript*, No. ii. 14, 8, 7, 4, 6 ; *Caveat*, p. 53.
[3] Fitzsimon's Letter to Father General in *Britannomachia.*
[4] Letters of Father Fitzsimon, and Leinich, previously quoted.
[5] Fitzsimon, *On the Mass*, p. 115, and Epistle Dedicatory.

whole story; the honest Protestant, Anthony Wood, says simply that the Jesuit "*grew weary* of disputing" with his youthful kinsman; a writer in Moreri's Dictionary scouts the tale, and says that Ussher in his best days would not have been a match for Fitzsimon.

Fitzsimon himself has left us a very simple and truthful account of the matter in a book which he published fourteen years after the event, little suspecting that a different version would be given forty years later, when he was in his grave. In dedicating his *Britannomachia* to Aquaviva, his Father General, he says:

"While I was a captive for five years in the Castle of Dublin, I did everything in my power to provoke the parsons to a discussion, except perhaps during the two years in which hardly any one was allowed to see me, so strictly was I guarded. Whenever I knew that they were passing in the corridors or castle-yard, I tried to see them, and by word or gesture to attract their attention towards me. But they neither wished to look up at me in the tower, nor did they pretend to hear me, when from the castle or the cell I challenged them in a stentorian voice. Once, indeed, a youth of eighteen came forward with the greatest trepidation of face and voice. He was a precocious boy, but not of a bad disposition and talent as it seemed. Perhaps he was rather greedy of applause. Anyhow, he was desirous of disputing about most abstruse points of divinity, although he had not yet finished the study of philosophy. I bid the youth bring me some proof that he was considered a fit champion by the Protestants, and I said that

I would then enter into a discussion even with him. But as they did not at all think him a fit and proper person to defend them, he never again honoured me with his presence."

I trust this foolish story of Ussher's triumph over his cousin, Fitzsimon, will not be reproduced in subsequent lives of our illustrious countryman. Long after both of them had been gathered to their fathers, Fitzsimon won a victory over Ussher. "James Ussher, a descendant of the Archbishop, was born in Dublin in 1720; he was successively a farmer, a linendraper, a Catholic clergyman, and for a time a school teacher, in partnership with Walker, the author of the Pronouncing Dictionary. He wrote a *Discourse on Taste*, in two vols., and some minor works.[1] Dr. Milner, in his *Inquiry into certain vulgar opinions concerning the Irish*, says this Ussher was author of the *Free Inquiry*, a most able and learned scholar, and immediate descendant of Archbishop Ussher; but, taking himself to the study of Fitzsimon's works, he was so convinced by his arguments that he became a Catholic. Being a widower, he became a priest, and may be said to be the first writer who defended the faith in the face of the public."

Father Fitzsimon was sometimes visited in prison by Dean Rider, the Protestant champion, with whom he had some "gentle bickerings," but not more, as Rider was afraid to meet a man whom he declared to be "in words too hard for a hundred." This Englishman was successively Rector of Winwick, Dean of St. Patrick's, Archdeacon of Meath, and Bishop of Killaloe, and was

[1] Sketch of James Ussher, in Webb's *Irish Biography*.

a man of influence in Dublin while Fitzsimon was in prison. He had the help of his Protestant brethren, and was able to publish three books against Fitzsimon, while the latter could answer only in writing, as he could not get leave to print from the Castle authorities, and would not publish his replies without the *imprimatur* of his Father General.

Fitzsimon's views concerning his adversary may be gathered from a few extracts from his printed works.[1] "This Mr. Rider was pronounced infamous by the voice of the public crier, the London Counter Prison often embraced him, the Dublin Tholsel denounced him as a Sir; from a Wigan miller, turning Oxford student by perjury (as I have it under the hand of his master, Mr. Sabinus Chamber), he became an abortive little master. This bad grammarian and worse vocabulary-maker, this convicted simoniac turned master of the Word; this notorious impostor, who was often imprisoned as well in England as in Ireland, the spendthrift become Dean, the quarrelsome rake metamorphosed into a Bishop—such is the wood from which these Mercuries and Minister-Bishops are made. Mr. Rider, by you, and such as you, the churches have been turned into stables, the vestments to cushions and trousers, the chalices to swilling-bowls, churchmen have been pursued, and thousands of religious houses have been profaned and burned. Yet you, Mr. Rider, quote St. Bernard against the Catholic priests, though all he says belongs to your last attire, wherein I

[1] See my *Life, Letters, and Diary of Father H. Fitzsimon*, 51, 52, 80, 202, 204, 217, 224, 225, 243, 244, 281.

did behold you, when you came forth in your short cloak and cassock, ungirded and lifted before on both sides, to present in sight a great trunk pair of French russet, or dowk purple velvet breeches. And at other times, when you glisten and rustle in your satin gown, faced with velvet, in your silks and in your pontificalibus—upon my conscience, among all the Princes of blood of the clergy whom I viewed in Rome or elsewhere, I did behold none so player-like, or whose altars were so far less bright than their spurs, as yours and your own self. You boast that you have proved my answer to be 'brass.' A speech in season, *Tractat fabrilia faber.* Being a baker, it is a pity you changed white for black. However, as you have 1,500 raziers or combs of corn, besides other commodities, in such a rich deanery, without any more functions, as you say, than any believing Christian, you should be commanded to sell double size to that of the poor Dublinian bakers, who buy their corn in the market and must bear cess and press, watch and ward, &c. You make an apostrophe to the city of Dublin. Dublin knows you too well, and few of your sort better, not only for your former hindrance of the bakers therein, but also for your transferring their trade of merchandize into your house and liberties among your own sons-in-law—they being foreigners and very fleshworms in Dublin; such as neither bear cess nor press, watch nor ward, toll nor custom, and in the meantime suck the juice of the city into their private purses under the warmth of your wings (to use your own phrase) and under the protection of your liberties.

"Since you have appealed to Eusebius, to him you shall go. I will once again, as the proverb says, exalt the baker to the pillory, and make no other than the witness by him alleged to nail his ears. . . . Your conclusion is, then, that treason is committed by injury to the pictures and persons alike. Then woe and well away to all your brethren image-breakers. Then woe and well away to Waller the murderer, under-minister of Swords, who, in the year 1603, hanged on a gibbet the image of Christ crucified. Then woe and well away to Mr. Rider, who, only to have stones to build an oven to bake bread (to impoverish the bakers of the city, not having idly or without price seventeen hundred barrels of corn yearly, as he hath), pulled down the fair cross in St. Patrick's, which all others his predecessors of that profession had permitted unviolated; and to the same use, to have fire, pulled down all the trees therein. This sentence of his, given against himself and brethren, made his own son, in May, 1604, when he attempted to pull down an image, to be by God's judgment precipitated from a height and altogether crushed, and at the same time caused his servant to be stricken with the plague.

"Alas! by such men the cross is in Ireland hanged in derision, trampled under foot in disdain, scornfully broken, and sacrilegiously burned. Who would not pity Mr. Rider's father if he had been at any charges (as he was not able) for his son's bringing up; his teacher could not make entrance for Rider's head into philosophy nor for philosophy into his head. O rich deanery of St. Patrick's, how wouldst thou groan if thou didst feel the heft of

the divinity of thy Dean! Like a cuckoo, he is always repeating the same song over again, and for all his repetitions, I must say to him, as a gentleman said to a piper who eftsoons reiterated the same tune, he having once given him money —'Friend, vary thy note, if thou wilt have me increase my groat.' When he does vary, he does so with a vengeance. If our late Queen Elizabeth, industrious in giving names, termed an abrupt jumping dance a 'frog-galliard,' how would she have named the Dean's reasoning? He attributes opinions to me which I hold not, and then runs after falsehood in me as a cat runs after his own tail. O Muses! what step-mothers you have been to Mr. Rider!

"He meddles in grammar, and talks of the active and passive voice! Unfortunately, this active and passive gloss is produced by him against himself, claiming to have him by all Protestants careful of their honour, sued to be a *deponent*. He often bids us read these and those in Greek; gentle reader, for ostentation he biddeth us to do what he cannot do himself. For in my particular knowledge and experience, a blind man hath as much sight in his eyes as he hath good Greek in his head. Mr. Rider, in your first sermon in Dublin you five times accented as long the short 'i' of *sculptile*, and you said *templum Janum* instead of *templum Jani*. Whereupon the Lord Chancellor rebuked your audacious temerity in meddling in that Papistical language. Why, then, would you wade further in so unfortunate a ford, wherein you had been so publicly overplunged? But as by your name Rider, you are a cavaliero and adventurous, I will

instruct yourself, and others (who perhaps will be therefore more thankful), of some few as great slips and trips of ignorance in Latin, testified in this your discourse, as would wrest shame out of impudence itself. What needeth this moth to intermeddle with the candle of learning, whereby his wings are so often scorched? By God's good providence he has been reprobated to confusion in all matter and sciences whereof he hath made any mention. Of his ignorance in Scripture, in the Fathers, in History, in Orthography, in Greek, in French, in Latin, in English, and now in spelling, against my will, he would needs convict himself ignorant. He writes *scilence*, *scholler*, which never scholar would have done; also *circumscision*, and *Lattin*.

"To fail in all degrees and sciences, without knowing one faculty soundly, and yet to profess a general skill universally, and to possess such a deanery, entirely showeth the Muses to be stepmothers to his constitution, himself to have lost great time in not following some other more convenient profession, and Church livings to have run clean out of their wonted channel, as soon to a dunce as a doctor. His own master at Oxford (at this time my dear brother), Mr. Sabinus Chamber doth thus testify of him, under his hand: 'Mr. John Rider came to me to Oxford about the beginning of Lent, as I remember, in the year 1581, recommended by my aunt, by whom he was then maintained. He remained there till the Act, which is celebrated always in summer. In one and the same year he passed Bachelor and Master of Arts, by means of I know not what juggling

and perjurie. I never had any scholar more indocile and unskilful. Before his answering I must have instructed him in all that I would oppose, and yet the next day he was never the wiser. The kind offices that my aunt and I did him if he deny, he must be profoundly impudent. This I testify under my hand, at Luxemburg, the 24th of December, 1604.'"

Father Fitzsimon says: "This man with Thrasonic bluster asked leave of the Lord Lieutenant to hold an oral discussion with me, and, having got it, he put off the meeting from day to day; and at last by the public sentence of the chief men of his party was condemned as an ignoramus and a trifler. As both the Constable of the Castle and his own man, Venables, will not deny, he never came at me without a covenant that we should not confer on matters of learning, to which his own testimony accordeth wherein he says that 'in words I should be too hard for a hundred.' But we have had some gentle bickerings. One day at dinner he boldly asserted that the ancient Fathers denied Christ's presence in the Eucharist, *secundum literam.* 'Here is St. Augustine,' said I, 'and he has the very words, *secundum literam.*' He read them, grew pale, sighed, and turned to other topics. On St. Mathias' eve, the 23rd of February, 1603, I, taking the air in prison on the northern tower, saw Mr. Rider repairing to see Mr. Browne, and I requested him to ascend. After a few words, he asked me to inform him in a matter made doubtful to him by a great statesman—whether I was a Jesuit, or a priest, or both? I answered that I was unworthily both. He

replied: 'Would you prefer yourself before a single secular priest?' I answered that I never yet had any controversy with any. He now being at a demur, I craved like favour in resolving not an unlike doubt of mine, Whether himself was a bare minister, or Dean, or both? He said, 'I am a minister and no Dean, it being a Papist title.' I replied: 'Then you are a Puritan, inasmuch as you refuse the name of Dean, and a Protestant as you hold the deanery of St. Patrick's.' He smiled at the conceit, and so departed. He cannot conceal the confusion he ever had in talking with me when at every word I disturbed his conceits. Mr. Tristram Eccleston, Constable of the Castle, Alderman Jans, Luke Shea, Esq., and others, can tell the plunge he and Minister Baffe wallowed in at our last meeting; he felt the brunt of my words at that time, by his own confession, to be irrefragable."

The following is the origin of the printed controversy:

"On the 29th of September, 1600, Mr. William Nugent, an honourable and learned esquire, maintained at Mr. Rider's table that there was no diversity of belief between Catholics of the present day and those who lived in the time of the Apostles. Mr. Rider maintained that the difference was as great as betwixt Protestantcy and Papacy. Both agreed to abide a lawful resolution of the learned. A counterfeit letter, as if from Catholics doubtful towards six articles therein specified, was written on the 21st of October, and required an answer within three months. It was couched in the following terms: 'To the Reverend

Fathers, the holy Jesuits, Seminaries, and other priests that favour the holy Roman religion within the Kingdom of Ireland. . . .'

"To be brief, it was partly referred to me, and partly imposed, that I should decide this controversy, as well as one in prison, sequestered from all communication with my brethren, and divers other ways disabled and hindered, and of my slender capacity, in so short a time might accomplish.

"I accordingly despatched brief collections of Scriptures, Fathers, and evidences of most principal Protestants, as well of England as of other countries, and observed such order as from time to time I laid open before all beholders their evident demonstrations, that the cause of Mr. Nugent was most just, and the contrary altogether untrue. I sent them, the 2nd of January, 1601, in the name of the Catholic priests of Ireland, by my cousin, Mr. Michael Taylor, gentleman, who delivered them presently to Mr. Rider.

"He showed great contentment, great thanks, and gave great promises to reply with like expedition. He admits in his *Caveat* that he received the answer 'by a courteous gentleman,' whom he takes to be a priest, and he says it was subscribed by Maister Henry Fitzsimon. But it was not subscribed at that time. For, on the 6th of January, he repaired to me in the Castle, applauding the aforesaid answer, and saying it was beyond his expectation, and that he would rejoin thereto, if it were approved by my name and subscription. Mistrusting bad measure by such a demand, I remained slack to condescend thereto. Manifold

protestations were made on the spot, as also in his letter to that effect, of great good-will to pleasure and benefit. Upon which flattering, but specially to honour my Saviour Jesus Christ and His invincible Church, I gratified him with my approbation and subscription, not fearing death or danger for my profession.

"Contrary to his promise, he published his reply on the 28th of September, 1602, before he had ever acquainted me therewith, in order that I might not have in readiness my answer to confront it. When at last every extended hand, yea, many avoiding hands, were filled with his reply under the name of *Caveat*—then, in that liberal dole, I was presented with one copy. Whereat, considering the tenor thereof, I stood amazed like one that had seen a bear whelping. Within forty-eight hours I advertised himself, that, if he would adventure to purchase me liberty to consult books, a clerk to engross my writings, and communication with my brethren, I would join issue with him even before the Lord Deputy and Council, yea, also before his own pew-fellows of the College; and that, if I did not convince his *Caveat* to be fraught with falsifications, depravations, corruptions, ignorance, and impiety, I would abide any penalty and punishment whatsoever.

"This sharp admonition urged him to propound the suit to the State. They of their bounty accorded that, at his discretion, books, access, and print should be allowed me. Books I confess to have had courteously from the College, a clerk[1] also, and that only I obtained. Other communication,

[1] His own nephew, Cary, as Rider says.

but especially the print, was debarred me, notwithstanding all possible entreaty."

The prisoner, being weary of the obstacles thrown in his way, wrote to the Lord Deputy:

To the Lord Deputy, the Lord Mountjoy.

Sept. 28, 1602.

Right honourable our most singular good Lord,—Occasion of my presuming to write to your honour is tendered by Mr. Rider's book, in which it pleaseth him to specifie my name. He hath chosen your honour and the rest of Her Majesty's Privie Council to patronize his labours, and I, also, for my part, refuse not to abide your honour's censure and arbitrament. What Varus Geminus said to Augustus—"they that durst plead in his presence were ignorant of his greatness, and they that durst not, of his benignitie,"—I may conveniently invert and apply to your Lordships—"they that adventure to stand to your arbitrament are audacious towards your profession, and they that do not are timorous of your disposition and uprightness."

We are at issue (in a matter of fact, as was lately in France, before the King, betwixt both professions) that they of us are to be taxed for impostors, who in our labours have wrested, perverted, and falsified the primitive Fathers of the Church. Which may easily be discerned, both by only perusing the volumes of the Fathers, and by verdict of all chief Protestants in the world, whom we undertake to testifie the foresaid Fathers to stand with us against Mr. Rider.

Vouchsafe of your especial affabilitie but one half day's trial, it shall appear, that either he is of whom Homer latinized speaketh—*Ille sapit solus, volitant alii velut umbræ*—or, for his presumptuous dedication of his book to your Honors, that he deserveth to be treated as Aristo, whom the Athenians punished for unworthy treating their commendations; or as the silly poet, whom Sylla both warned and waged never to write; or lastly, as Cherilus, whose verses Alexander considering, and finding but seven good, awarded for each of them a piece of gold, and for the residue so many buffets.

I truly am of St. Gregory's mind, saying, "Who, although weak, would not contemn the teeth of this Leviathan, unless the terror of the secular power did maintain them?" It is a double drift; for what

> These persuade by flattering words,
> Those enforce by smarting swords.

Deign, noble lord, but to suspend so long the sword; and faintness and falsehood will soon be revealed. God Almighty preserve your Honour for His and your glory. From the prison, September 28, 1602.

Your Honour's humble client to command, assuredly in Christ,

HENRY FITZSIMON.

"This letter being delivered ten days after that Mr. Rider's book came to light, the Deputy, being of fervent desire to further the disputation, sent for Mr. Rider, showed him the letter, and finding him relenting from the point, he sent me word by Mr. Henry Knevet, his gentleman usher, that, if I would indeed come to trial, the only means was to entreat them of the College, upon the credit of their cause and champion, to sue for such a disputation, and they themselves to be umpires. A hard condition, but necessary in that place and time. Meanwhile Mr. Rider came to me the 2nd of October, 1602, to reclaim his resignation of these controversies to Scriptures or Fathers severally, resolving not to accept the Fathers for arbiters, unless they had the Scriptures conjointly concurring with them. A poor retreat, because by word of mouth, and in print, he had appealed to them not conjointly, but severally; and again, because it is a silly imagination to think they may be separated. After my interview with the gentleman usher of the Deputy and

with the Dean of St. Patrick's, I wrote the following letter to them of the College, but endorsed to Dr. Challenor:

Worthy Cousin,—Great men, in confidence of their cause, have resigned their conference and controversie to unequal judges, in sundrie subjects. Origen submitted his proceedings to an infidel's arbitrament, and prevailed against five adversaries. So Archelaus, Bishop in Mesopotamia, by like arbiter, did vanquish Manes. So did the Israelites surmount the Samorites. By whose example I have adventured to appeal unto, and endure your and the College adwardisment in this controversie betwixt Mr. Rider and me; that whither of us hath dissembled, or denied the effect and substance of authors by us alleged, concerning the consent of antiquity in Mr. Rider's cause or mine, must stand to any arbitrarie reprehension and condemnation it shall please you to denounce. Wherefore I crave that it will please you to certify whether you will deign to be umpires, to award according to equitie and indifferencie. Whereunto that you condescend the rather I advouch, and, so God willing, will manifest, that also all chief Protestants in the world do stand with us in this controversie, confessing the ancient Fathers to be ours, and opposite to Mr. Rider. Let not any extraordinarie confidence procure any inconvenience, or pulpit commotions and exclamations, that posteritie may understand our courses to have becomed Christians. I expect your answer, committing you to God with affectionate desires of your happiness. November the 7th, 1602. Yours to command in Christ,

HENRY FITZSIMON.

"To this letter I received a mere Puritanical answer, full of sugared, affected words, vainly applied, and all the matter wrested in obscuritie with this only parcel to the purpose:

Concerning the judgment, which you would have our College for to yield as touching the cause between

Mr. Dean Rider and you (providing always that you make us no partie), when we shall see your books, and have some small time to compare the same, by the mercie of God, we promise faithfully to perform it without all respect of person and partialitie in the cause. And I would to God that what effect Eutropius found, and those that vouchsafed themselves to be hearers of his judgment, the same, among any of us might feel and fynde, that do err from the truth of God, of ignorance or of knowledge; for the Lord's arm is not so shrunken in, but that He may make us yet of a Saul a Paul. To whose grace I affectionately leave you. November the 8th, 1602. Your cousin, desiring in Christ you may be his brother,

L. CHALLENOR.

"Behold the Puritans' letter (in style and pointing of themselves) to testify to all the world, that I being in prison (not being able to shrink out of their hands or punishment, whenever it should please them to cite or condemn me), yet did proffer, urge, and importunate the being confronted to Mr. Rider! Let any therefore judge how Riderly it is assured, that I sought many sleights and delays from coming to this conflict.

"There being a jealousy betwixt them of the College and Mr. Rider, my appeal to their arbitrament was a heavy load upon his reputation, they not being partial in my part of the cause, and yet he loath to stand to their kindness. To gain time he would be tried nowhere but in Oxford. This evasion by all men was hissed at in all meetings, at his own table, and everywhere else; so he was constrained to approach under the lee, and into the friendship of those of the College. What packing there was betwixt them I know not; but this I know, that he seemed froward to resign his

cause to them. If conjecture on probable occasion be allowed, the Collegists told him that he had utterly betrayed himself in the main point, but yet that one only refuge remained—to wrest the matter of Christ's true presence to the term of Transubstantiation: that if I should not discover this foisting in the question of the name, instead of the question of the matter, Mr. Rider might well be supported against my proofs. Such to have been the quirk of all their consultation, and the only hope whereupon Mr. Rider hanged his confidence, by diligent observation of the circumstances may be collected. But, as I said, never before the month of April, 1604, could Mr. Rider be purchased to abide the arbitrament of his own pewfellows, the Collegists.

"Now was my banishment by His Majesty licensed, to the disgust and distrust of Mr. Rider, lest that, being out of his grips, I would publish the certainty of all our courses; and to the greater terror of him, because I certified all Protestants repairing to the Castle that I was sincerely determined to do no less than he feared, at my first leisure and commodity. Whereat new exprobrations at every instant falling on him, he made that wise *Rescript* to which now I answer; which being made, the Right Worshipful Mayor of the city, not being ignorant of all the circumstances (although, to his immortal infamy, a most timorous Catholic, as one that most exactly knew their impiety, yet for worldly fear conformed himself thereto), challenged him publicly of dastardliness in wounding a man bound, trampling on one in restraint, and triumphing against one not permitted to resist, by

writing publicly against me who was not allowed to defend myself. Mr. Rider, at this importunate provocation, blustering into choler, assured him in the public market, that even to my face he would confound me to be guilty of all tergiversation used in the proceedings, if the Mayor would vouchsafe to accompany him to the Castle, to which motion the Mayor condescended, in the meantime inviting him to dinner, lest he would relent or repent this vaunted resolution.

"At dinner-time the Mayor sent one of his sergeants to certify me distinctly of all the aforesaid occurrences. I answered (notwithstanding my former alienation for the aforesaid schism of the Mayor, not denying but he had otherwise ever obliged me), that I would most willingly that such motion in any case should not be overslipped, but brought to examination. On the 4th of April, 1604, the Mayor, Justice Palmer, Captain Godl (the Councillor Sir Richard Cook, out of his chamber in the Castle, being within hearing and privy to all our proceedings), and others, to the number, with them of the guard, of about a hundred, standing in the Castle court, I was summoned by my keeper to appear. Some little pause there was before I came, and suddenly Mr. Rider, thinking that, contrary to my custom, I would temporize in the heat I ever professed towards maintaining religion, began to glorify that he knew I durst not come. At length I came, and inquired their pleasure. Mr. Rider declared that he came to have a promised legible copy, or my subscribing that which I had delivered, or my going to trial before them of the College.

"To the first of these three points I answered, his own mouth should confess the copy to be legible, which I proved in manner premised. To the second, that if I could not prove his falsification of my private letter, I would subscribe my whole answer; which when I did prove (as all or any then present will avow) so directly and perspicuously that he blushed, and they all blamed him for falsification, I told them there should need no such approbation, considering that our issue should be not upon the future, but even upon the *Caveat* and my allegations therein contained in legible print. To the last, of going to the College, I accepted it at that instant, reaching him a gold ring, which he should not deliver me but in that place. He took it, and now (as Julius Cæsar said when he had passed the River Rubicon, *Jacta est alea*—'The die is cast') there could be no tergiversation; either we must have gone forward with main force, or we could not retire without foil and dishonour. What was, think you, the issue? Mr. Rider would needs restore me my ring, pretending 'that he must have license of the State for so public an act, which license he doubted not to obtain at their sitting the day following.' 'Nay' said I, 'you have had license from the beginning for this disputation, by lawful warrant, as you showed me yourself: so that I will not receive my ring until you present it me (unless you have other excuse) in place accorded.' His own consociates, the Reformed crew, what in wailing, what in railing, sought to draw or drive him from so ignominious revolting from the trial by himself first sought, in three years' space daily boasted of,

at this time before my departure to be effected or not at all, and then disclaimed in the face of the world, until needless new license might be obtained. But he dividing up and down sparkles of railing rage, gave them leave to say their pleasure and to swallow their displeasure, and threatened, if I would not receive the ring, to throw it away, which, notwithstanding, I would not accept, alleging the bargain for a lawful disputation to have been fully and authentically contracted, and now to be irrevocable. But he would not retain it, and so the Mayor took it into custody, till hope and speech of a disputation vanished.

"All the Protestants were ashamed of their champion, whose provocation was a perfect imitation of the challenge sent by Francis the First to Charles the Fifth. It is not long since this happened in the sight of so many witnesses, that it may be well remembered, and I am not so prodigal of my good name that I would forge in a matter subject to so much censures as might fall on an untruth of like quality, if the thing were not notorious and beyond all disproof. The aforesaid Justice Palmer, the Captain, and all the others publicly censured him, and said my copy was legible and correctly written. They exclaimed against him, that I so resolutely presented to go instantly with him, to hold a disputation in the College; that he was known to have long before allowance and warrant from the State towards such conference, and yet would not enter the lists; and that being publicly come to provoke, and the combat being accepted, he like a Jubelius, would, to the dishonour of his cause, flinch away and retire

most dastard-like. Surely there was among the soldiers so great hissing of their champion after his departure, and so great jealousy against the profession whereunto such sleights and acts of hypocrisy were the chief defence, that eight or ten of them thereupon shortly after came to be reconciled. Thus, Mr. Rider remained confounded, 'and stript of buckler, casque, and spear.'

"The next day the Council was sitting close upon accounts, and Mr. Rider, for his credit's sake, having attended till full dinner-time, to have their allowance to dispute, and not willing to depart until he had motioned to the State what he intended towards the disputation, he came up at length to dine among us prisoners. Some gentle bickerings chanced betwixt us about the Angelical Salutation to our Blessed Lady in Greek. He and his fellow, Balfe, in presence of the Constable, who, I imagine, will not lightly lie on either side, were found so exorbitantly confounded and disgraced and wallowed in such a plunge, that the Constable, ashamed to impose silence, could remain no longer, and Mr. Rider, according to his wont, fell from reason to railing, not sparing or respecting me more than his father's son's companion. I was no less with him than traitor, fool, liar, knave," &c.

This is, no doubt, the controversy to which Fitzsimon thus refers in his *Britannomachia:* "I remember well also the nonsense which a certain young minister, the chaplain to Oliver Lambert, uttered in the presence of Tristram Eccleston, Lieutenant of Dublin Castle, of Mr. Mark Shee, and Mr. Patrick Archer, who to-day are in honour

with all, but then, as illustrious confessors of Christ, were detained in prison with me. Well, this young wight affirmed to me on oath that he had seen, read, and long studied the Hebrew Gospel of St. Luke, in which the first word of the Angel's Salutation was not *Ave*, but *Chavech!*"

On April 10, 1603, Fitzsimon was able to send a letter to Father General, in which he says: "A certain Protestant Dean published a book against the Catholics, in which he mentions my name, and my name alone, as if to insult and challenge me. This was a thing unheard-of before, as the ministers had never previously printed their absurdities. The will of the Superior, of our other Fathers, and of all the faithful, imposed on me the duty of showing the silliness and falsehood of that book, in which the author strives to make the ancient Fathers favour his own errors. Such is the inconsistency, such the genius of heresy—it pretends to be old when it is new, and new when it is old. At present it is ashamed of its own parents, and claims descent from the ancient Doctors of the Church.

"Having implored the Divine assistance, I undertook to write a refutation of their rash and mad pretensions; and with God's help, in a month or two, by reading and writing, I succeeded so far that my antagonist is considered, even in the opinion of Protestants, as deserving to be hissed and stamped off the stage of controversy. Both the Dean and the Government fancied that, as I was in their power and at their mercy, I would not dare to speak out or even breathe a word; and they intended to attribute my silence, not to

the unfairness with which they deprived me of the proper means of writing, but to the weakness of my cause. They were very much mistaken; 'for speech was given to make known the mystery of the Gospel, for which I am an ambassador in chains'—*Datus est mihi sermo in apertione oris.* When I had elaborated my reply, I found that my adversary spoke and looked as confident as ever, so I made up my mind to outdo him in audacity. I begged of the Viceroy to deign to assist at a discussion between us at least for a few hours, and to condemn the conquered party to be fined, or to be branded with a hot iron. The Lord Deputy is said to have praised my courage, but gave me no answer. I thought it well to go forward in the matter, and I invited the very Provost of the University to preside as umpire in the discussion. Relying on the most certain assistance of God and on the strength of my cause, I thought I could dare and do anything, as by God's grace I am fearless in the cause of God. The Father Superior, the other Fathers, and all the Catholics felt great anxiety with regard to the result. However, everything turned out as I had with certainty anticipated, and all contributed to the greater glory of God and to the very great advantage of the Church.

"My antagonist was terrified, and he nearly went out of his mind, and roared with rage. He openly declines to meet me in debate, although all the conditions and circumstances are so much in his favour. However, he has attacked me in another way. As he is a leading man among the Protestants, he had it in his power to tempt me

with a splendid position, and an income of one thousand five hundred florins a year, but he got from me the answer which Satan got from our Saviour, and which Simon Magus received from St. Peter.

"The Catholics are so anxious and urgent in their request that my book should be published, that our Father Superior has held frequent consultations on the question whether we should print it, presuming on the sanction of your Paternity. It is still undecided whether, in so urgent a case, we should put a liberal interpretation on the strict letter of the law, and pass over the prohibition, or whether we ought to observe it in a spirit of perfect obedience. But we will not allow anything, be it ever so important and urgent, to be as near and dear to our hearts as blind and simple obedience; although to us, who are placed so far away at the uttermost ends of the earth, it seems of the greatest moment that we should obtain, as soon as possible, this permission which we ask, and also a general leave for the future; specially as we are so disposed that there is no danger of anything appearing in print but what shall be worthy of the Society, well weighed, and the outcome of our united counsels and deliberations. I was enabled to have privately access to my books, and to use them with as much advantage as if I were free in a college.

"A sudden and violent storm burst upon the Catholics. The Superior ordered me to confirm and steady the senators of the city by letters, by messengers, and by every way in my power. The other Fathers did their duty also with unceasing care, and with ardent zeal and piety. Those

citizens were imperfectly instructed in the Faith and Christian doctrine, and had hitherto been accustomed to shape and fashion their faith according to their temporal interests and convenience. It was the opinion of all, even of the Protestants, that all these men would bend before the storm.

"Six of the principal churches were prepared for the occasion, preachers were appointed, the parishioners were numbered and registered, members of the Privy Council, and very many spies were on the watch in each of the churches, in order to detect and report the absentees, and the time was fixed when all the inhabitants of every age should attend the churches—*yet out of this so great and populous city, there was not even one who could be got to obey the order.*

"The inhabitants were then brought before the magistrates, more than thirty of whom assembled in order to strike terror into the hearts of the people. To be brief, all except one stood firm, 'and all, indeed, went from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were accounted worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Jesus.' Wherefore, although our chief citizens are kept in prison, no day ever dawned that was more glorious to us, and more disastrous to our adversaries, who are now bewildered, and puzzled what to do, whether they should go on or go back.

"A certain illustrious Baron, whose lady is my principal benefactress, sent his son to Trinity College. Notwithstanding my obligations to them for affording me support, I, with the utmost freedom, earnestness, and severity, informed and

taught them, that it was a most impious thing, and a detestable scandal, to expose their child to such education. The boy was taken away at once, and so were others, after that good example. The College authorities are greatly enraged at this, as they had never before attracted any pupil of respectability, and do not now hope to get any for the future. Hence I must be prepared for all the persecution which their impiety and hatred can bring down upon me. I have very often laboured to prevent Catholic women from marrying sectaries, and from thus being used as spies against ourselves; and in my efforts I have been generally successful.

"A certain Englishman was allowed by my keepers, whom he bribed, to come to the door of my cell. He was not permitted to come farther, yet we could hear, though we could not see, each other; we spoke on points of controversy, and he was brought to the fold of God. Precisely in the same manner, another was able to receive the blessing of absolution, to his incredible happiness and advantage.

"Although I was usually very delicate, yet I enjoyed perfect and uninterrupted health while writing my reply, though I often worked half the week without sleeping a wink. But when I began to cease working, my former infirmity began to annoy me, and it disappeared again when I resumed my work. About a year and a half ago I told you of other singular and unusual proofs of God's protection, by which He seemed to approve and encourage my poor labours. For instance, I was supplied with three books, in three different

languages, by three persons previously strangers to me, books exactly suited to my purpose, and at the same time exceedingly rare, in this country particularly; and I got these books at the very moment that I first wanted them to clear up some doubt. Moreover, I found both my understanding and my memory so quickened and enlightened, that very many things never before thought of, or quite forgotten, yet very necessary for me, came at once and of themselves into my mind; so that I may truly say with Ecclesiasticus, 'I have laboured a little and found much rest.' I say this, chiefly in order that all the honour of my book may be rendered to the great Giver of all good gifts; and again, that your Paternity may draw from these things the consolation which you are desirous, and accustomed to derive from the labours of your children; and lastly, that every effort of mine, and even my life itself, may, through the Holy Sacrifices and prayers of the Society, be offered up as a pious holocaust to Almighty God, and may be spent and consumed for the greater glory of His name, and for the good of His Church. My adversaries are every day in a thousand ways striving to destroy my life, and they hope they shall soon be able to put me to death.

"This late storm against the Catholics is said to have been raised without the consent or knowledge of the Lord Deputy, who had set out on an expedition. On his return he remonstrated seriously with the members of the Council for having caused fresh troubles, at a time when things were beginning to settle down. It seemed as if we should have peace, but the insurgents are now

stirring again, and taking heart after their old fashion. The Deputy released all who were imprisoned for the sake of religion, all except myself alone; but he bound them over, under a penalty of a thousand florins, not to harbour or help in any way a Jesuit, or any other disturber of the country. The English officials laboured long to get the Catholic prisoners to swear, or at least to promise, that they would avoid such persons, and exclude them from their houses. The Catholics replied that they could not, in conscience, take such an oath, lest their fate should be worse than that of Sodom and Gomorrha, if those priests 'shook the dust of their feet against them.' They said it would be quite enough to impose a fine without exacting a promise. So the matter was settled, the tempest was dispelled, and calm was restored. The judges being checked by the constancy of these Catholics, deemed it more prudent not to irritate or annoy the others, lest they should make themselves unpopular in such doubtful and dangerous times.

"If these Catholics stood firm, and if by that constancy the other Catholics are free from persecution, others may say, though I will not, that, under God, the credit is due to the Society, since nothing like that was ever known before, and since no others contributed to that happy result. As the Protestants are so hostile to our name that they wish our Fathers particularly to be excluded from the homes of all, it is clear that the efforts of the Society have already been crowned with a brilliant success, and that our Fathers will eventually produce most abundant fruit, since they

have met with such resistance at the beginning—which God grant us in His infinite clemency!

"I entreat your Paternity to send us an answer as soon as possible by way either of England or of Portugal, and to grant us leave to publish the above-mentioned little book, lest our adversary may be tempted by our silence to ride rough-shod over us.

"Most humbly begging, on bended knees, your Paternity's blessing, I am your Paternity's most obedient son and servant in Christ,

"HENRY FITZSIMON.

"From Dublin Castle in Ireland, April 10, 1603."[1]

To Father Aquaviva.

"Very Reverend Father,—The peace of Christ be with you. God grant that we may at length be able to press to our lips the answer of your Paternity! To our great sorrow, we have not heard from you for some years, on account of the difficulties of communication. Therefore, lest our letters to your Paternity should have been intercepted, I shall go back and relate some matters briefly.

"I have been five years in prison, and I have been brought eight times before the Supreme Court, and I have always been, through God's goodness, superior to all circumstances, and proof against all attacks. The Governor of the prison has been my deadly enemy, and has often plotted against my life.

[1] *Life and Letters of Father Henry Fitzsimon*, p. 53.

"I have often explained to your Paternity how insolently I have been challenged by a certain pseudo-Dean to defend the Catholic Truth, and how clearly he was confounded, according to the opinion of all persons, and even in his own opinion. We carried on the discussion with the pen; but as my answer had not your *imprimatur*, I would not allow it to be printed, though people have used prayers, and all but violence, to prevail on me to let it go to the press. Wherefore, I humbly beg of your Paternity to allow it to be published, after having been examined by our Fathers. I say this with all modesty and resignation. The answer contains things which have brought not a few to the fold of Christ, and it cannot in any way be weakened by our enemies. Nothing frightened my adversary more than the confidence with which I asked the Viceroy, and Privy Council, and the Fellows of Trinity College to be judges of our controversy, as Origen named a Pagan philosopher as arbiter in his dispute with Manes.

"All the Protestants felt anxious about their champion, and he feared for himself and his cause. At that time and ever afterwards I was attacked with flatteries and terrors, with promises of great wealth and threats of exile, with favours and furies. The man, who is now Lord Mayor, was at one time a strenuous Catholic; but, as happens now and then, shaping his creed to his comfort, he has joined the Protestant conventicle. Lately, a minister said in the pulpit that Papists called the Pope a god, and he proved it by quoting the gloss: *Credere autem in Dominum nostrum Papam.* The

Lord Mayor could not refrain from contradicting him publicly, and he cried out that the Latin words were either not to be found, or were badly translated. By common consent the dispute was referred to me. As was easy, I pointed out the wretched ignorance or double-dyed perfidy of the parson's construction.[1]

"At present they deliberate about driving me into exile. Let no public petition, let no influence or authority intercede for me; and let God and His angels be my witnesses, this hatred, of which I am the object, and the exile with which I am threatened are dearer to me than anything else in this world except death for the faith.

"Since the Queen's demise all things are uncertain—and people are now full of hopes and again full of fears. As far as one can judge, matters are gloomy enough. Religion does not strike deep and firm roots here; people, by a kind of general propensity, follow more the name than the reality of the Catholic faith, and thus are borne to and fro by the winds of edicts and threats. However, the work of our Fathers, ever since their arrival, has been solid and brilliant. Those, who before were mere *tabulæ rasæ*, know the teaching of the faith, and piety flourishes where all had once been a waste, and where even the name of piety was not known. Others, who are in the midst of the work, can tell you more and better than this. It is said that a storm is about to burst over us soon, but the bark of Peter cannot be endangered.

[1] See *Extrav. Joan.* xxii. lit. 4, c. 4, cum inter. glossa sub fine.

"How many and how great miracles are worked by Agnus Deis can hardly be fully told. In the beginning of this Lent an elderly lady was for three days at death's door, deprived of voice and memory. An Agnus Dei was hung round her neck, and that instant she recovered her voice and memory, and the following day she was perfectly cured. It was refreshing to see the confusion of her heirs, who, having prematurely taken away her goods, were forced to bring them back.

"As our Reformers, God bless the mark, have deformed all things Divine and human, they intend now to go over all again. It is uncertain how far they will go, as they are never consistent. They find themselves surrounded with thorns, whether they frame a new faith or not. The light which they once declared to be as clear as noonday is now scarcely recognized, and what was once sanctioned is now to be repealed as not having been sufficiently looked into at the dawn of 'the Gospel.' Thus they defend themselves! The mountain, no doubt, will bring forth a mouse. These men are clouds without water, wafted by the winds; they are autumn trees, barren and doubly dead. It now remains for me to most humbly beg of your Paternity, and of the whole Society, to pray for us, that the word of God may be glorified with us as with you, and that we may be freed from cruel and wicked men. I also humbly urge your Paternity to favour us with a few words of advice and encouragement through the bearer of this letter. He usually remains a long time in Holland, whither he is now sailing,

and your letter might be transmitted through him to the Belgian Fathers.[1]

"From Dublin Castle, this 5th of April, 1604.

"Of your Paternity
the most obedient son and servant,
"HENRY FITZSIMON."

On the 12th of March, 1604, James the First ordered Father Fitzsimon's release; yet he was not released for three months afterwards. The order runs thus: "Directed to the L. Deputie and Councel of Irland. After our very harty commendations to your Lordship and the rest. Wheras, one Henry Fitzsimon, a Jesuit, hath these five years past remained prisoner in the Castle of Dublin, on whose behalf humble sute hath been made to the King's Majestie for his inlargement out of prison. And his Majestie hath bene informed that he hath made so good demonstration of his loyaltie and dutyful affection to his Majestie and the State as deserveth that he should be used with as great favoure as a man of his sorte and qualitie may be capable of. You shall therefore understand, that it is the King's Majestie's pleasure that you shall release the said Henry Fitzsimon out of prison, taking sufficient bonde of him, with good sureties for his avoiding out of the realm, within some convenient time to be by your Lordship limited unto him for his departure; and that he shall not at any time hereafter returne into any of his Majestie's dominions without license first obtayned by him in that

[1] *Life and Letters of Father Fitzsimon*, p. 58.

behalf. And so we bid your Lordship and the rest very hartely farewell.

"From the Court at Whythall, the 12th of Marche, 1603.

"Your lordship's very loving friends,

"LORD CHANCELLOR, L. TREASORER,
L. CHAMBERLAIN.
"E. SHREWSBURIE, E. DEVONSHIRE,
E. OF MAR.
"L. CECYLL, L. KNOLLIS, L. OF KINLESS."[1]

Father Fitzsimon gives the following account of his release:

To Father Aquaviva.

"22nd of June, 1604, from Bilboa.

"Very Reverend Father,[2]—At last by the letter of our King, procured by much labour and expense, I was to be freed from prison, and treated with some favour, for many reasons, but chiefly because I never meddled in secular matters. However, at a convenient time, which was to be fixed by the Viceroy, I was to leave my native land, never to return without permission. The Dublin Council were perplexed and vexed by this letter, as they knew that the whole country would be greatly delighted at my liberation, and would, at the same time, feel confidence in the King's inclination to give freedom of conscience to Catholics. Long, and many, and doubtful were the debates on this matter. They thought it better to ignore the King's letter than to give freedom to a man who

[1] See *Catholic Confutation*, by Fitzsimon, p. 225.
[2] *Life of Father Henry Fitzsimon*, p. 62.

was so hostile to their plans of Protestantizing the island. Meanwhile they spoke very kindly to me, and promised wonders, if I would take an oath and give sureties that I would not say Mass or preach, or if I would renounce a little of the King's indulgence so far as not to fix the time and place in which I should remain with them, or if at least I would say that I was displeased at being exiled by His Majesty. Finding me intractable, and seeing serious disagreements take place in the Council on my account, the Viceroy rashly and unjustly exiled me at once without the knowledge of my friends, without allowing any provision for my voyage, without regard to a convenient time and place, and without regard to the wishes of the King. He insisted on getting securities for my compliance with his orders, although those who had till then been my enemies tried to dissuade him from doing so. Strange to say, almost without my knowledge, the Lord Mayor and the two Sheriffs offered themselves as sureties for me. Such was the indecent hot haste with which I was thrust into the vessel, that Father Holywood had hardly time to send me some money and the 'Letter of Obedience.'

"From the Castle I was taken straight to a vessel, and was accompanied by the Governor of the prison. This man had been my deadly enemy, but, like most of my most bitter foes, he became my fast friend. He restored to me what he had robbed me of, gave me two hundred Flemish florins of his own, and, when bidding me good-bye, burst into floods of tears. As the vessel in which I was placed was bound for Spain, I asked leave

to enter another boat close by, which was to sail for Flanders or France. I was refused, notwithstanding the entreaties of influential intercessors, and the murmurs of the public. Thus, by a Divine dispensation, I, who while in prison had only my friends to condole with me, hardly left one person behind who did not sympathize with my sufferings.

"From last Easter to the day of my liberation from the Castle of Dublin, by God's grace, I brought nine heretics back to the fold. Almost all of them were men of note, and two were graduates of Cambridge. During my voyage all cursing and quarrelling were done away with on board the vessel. I landed at Bilboa on the 14th of June. Shortly afterwards, I got all the sailors and passengers, except the master of the ship, to go to Confession and Communion; and in that port also, but not without great trouble, I gained to Christ an Englishman, who is a member of a University.

"I have brought one of my kinsmen with me. He will go from Calais to London to tell the King himself that his will was disobeyed in my regard, and to implore leave for me to return to my former labours.

"The Father Superior of the Mission, and the whole Irish Church with him, wish me to print at once my 'Answer,' about which I have often written to your Paternity. That, I think, would be the best service which I can now render to the cause of truth and to the glory of God. Wherefore, partly from leave of the Superior, and partly from the presumed ratification of your Paternity, I am going to Rouen or Antwerp in order to get the

book printed. I doubt not but that I shall have leave to return to my country before the book will be published. I do not know whether your Paternity would approve of my going back, but whatever your Paternity decides with regard to me I will do most cheerfully. The work of our Fathers in Ireland is solid and brilliant; and if more workmen are sent, they will do that which shall wonderfully comfort the whole Church, and, most of all, the Society of Jesus.

"I humbly commend myself to the Holy Sacrifices, and to the commands of your Paternity.

"Your Paternity's most obedient son and servant in Christ,

"HENRY FITZSIMON."

It is likely that Father Fitzsimon went to visit the Irish Colleges of Spain. He was at Luxemburg on the 24th of December, and there met Rider's old Oxford master, Father Sabinus Chamber. In 1605 and 1606 he corresponded with the General and Father Holywood about sending Irish Jesuits to the Orkneys and about a legacy left to the Irish Jesuit Mission by Mr. Patrick Segrave. In 1606–7 he was "often employed from morning till midday in hearing confessions, in exhorting and catechizing, in performing offices of charity, in manifold ordinary employments that prevented him from study, in the domestic employments incident to one in his *third year of probation.*" In sometimes accompanying the army (in 1607 and before it), he had noted "that every nation, as they are more noble, do covet the vanguard in danger of conflict with such honourable ambition that some-

times they break into contention for it." This passage, coupled with the facts that most probably he was in his third probation at Tournay, where he had been in his first probation, and that he had been most successful in extinguishing mortal feuds in Ireland, connects him with the following incident in the history of Irish soldiers abroad. The Jesuit Annual Letters of Tournay, an. 1606, tell us that our Fathers exercised their zeal amongst the soldiers who were in winter-quarters in Mildeburg. "Thither two Jesuits went from the Novice House of Tournay; they converted thirty-eight heretics; taught the soldiers to say the *Angelus* on their knees. The soldiers of their own accord kept the abstinence of Lent, though they were allowed meat; they gave up swearing in a great measure, and when they broke out into oaths, men of all ranks willingly accepted the penance imposed, and even many of them asked for it. Many enmities were extinguished; one very serious contest arose about precedence, which was very difficult to arrange, as the flames were fanned by party spirit. The parties could not be reconciled by the priests, whose influence has always been very great with the Irish. They were not restrained by the sacredness of the time, which was Good Friday night. One officer had all his regiment, with guns loaded and pikes ready, under arms, awaiting his adversary, who was coming with his men to attack him. At eleven o'clock at night our priests were called, and went half-dressed to the scene of strife. Having in vain exhorted the leaders to reconciliation, one Father threw himself at their feet, and, all in tears, reminded them of

the Passion of our Lord, and of the self-inflicted wounds and stripes offered up to God that night by Christians all over the world. The two officers were softened, prostrated themselves on the ground, and then ran to embrace each other; and, to cement their union, they went to confession, and the following day received Holy Communion together, with tears in their eyes, in presence of their respective regiments."

On the 26th of September, 1607, Fitzsimon finished a quarto book of 574 pages. It contained "A Catholic Confutation of Mr. John Rider's Claim to Antiquitie, and a Calming Comfort against his *Caveat*, A Reply to Mr. Rider's *Rescript;* also, An Answer to Sundrie Complaintive Letters of Afflicted Catholics." The volume was printed at Rouen in 1608, and Dean Rider's copy of this rare book is in Trinity College, Dublin. It abounds in anecdotes. He gives from paragraph 25 to paragraph 40 of the Preface a glowing description of the ancient glories of the Irish Church, and contrasting the Old Faith with the faith of Protestants, he asks: "Is the faith which subverteth abbeys, turneth church ornaments into breeches, cushions, and curtains, which converteth pixes and chalices into swilling-bowls, and which in riot and licentiousness consumeth the revenues of cloisters and hospitals—is *that* the Old Faith?" If I mistake not, he was the first to vindicate the glory of the old Irish Church, and to defend it against Thomson, and him whom he calls "horned" Hector Boetius; he was certainly devoting his attention very much to Irish history at this period. "There is," he says, "a *Florarium*, a written mar-

tyrologe, in our library at Louvain. Not so few as six hundred are they of our country, who flourished in admirable sanctity, *whose names I have in custody.* Many of our Saints were of royal race, showing thus the bastard minds of such as never think their sons fit to be of the clergy, unless they be maimed, deformed, and sottish. *Having by long inquisition* found out choice guides in Irish history, and being willing to adventure on any journey, whereby I may right you, my countrymen, in your chiefest glory, I will show you that you were anciently called *Scoti*, and will proceed by the shortest path that through the thicket of ould antiquities shall lie open before me. I found a hand-written Life of St. Patrick in our Library of Douay, while I *ransacked all libraries in my way for our country's antiquities.*"

His attention to the past history of Ireland did not prevent him from attending to her present and very pressing wants, and he kept up an active correspondence with that land to which, like the exiled St. Columba, "he ever looked with longing eyes." The following is a letter sent to him on the 1st of May, and signed by one Bishop, one Vicar-General, one knight, and six priests:

May 1st, 1607.

As your Reverence seems not to have believed in our grievances, and consequently not to have heeded them or laid them before the proper authorities, I have not wished to make the present statement of our sufferings, without having it confirmed by the testimony of others.

Your Reverence, then, must know that, since peace has been concluded between our King and the King of Spain, the Neronian times have been inaugurated here.

Firstly, a proclamation issued on the 28th of September, 1605, ordering, under pain of death, that within ten days all Jesuits, priests, and Seminarists should leave the kingdom, and that all those who would receive or relieve them should be hanged at their own doors. A reward of two thousand florins was offered to those who would discover a Jesuit, and one thousand to such as would discover a priest, or the houses he frequented. The servants of priests, when taken, were cruelly scourged until they gave all the information they could.

Troops of horse were sent out to hunt for robbers and priests, and to hang them, by martial law, from the nearest tree. These troopers, scouring the country, beset the roads, the fields, the private dwellings, and stop any travellers they please. They try to surpass each other in cruelty; and it were hard to tell how many people have been murdered by them. Since the laws of this kingdom do not warrant such work, our leading men have asked, in a petition, that the subjects should not be treated in this wanton manner, but should be governed according to the laws. This remonstrance cost them dearly—many were at once imprisoned, others confined to their houses, and obliged to present themselves when called for—all were sharply rebuked for daring to oppose any rights or laws to the royal prerogative, which should be irrefragable, decisive, and independent of all Parliaments, and should be itself a law and a reason.

All the needy, greedy adventurers, spendthrifts, and debtors, of all the towns and other places of the four provinces, began at once to pant for the properties of the Catholics. By knavery and bribery they contrive to become royal searchers or pursuivants, and by using boldly the King's name they force their way everywhere. They are not stopped by doors or walls, or affected by the wailing of women or the cries of children; they open everything, take away any article of value, fling away into the street or the fire whatever they deem worthless. They seize goblets as chalices, jewels for Agnus Deis. Whatever is for ordinary purposes of life is pronounced to be sacred, and then taken off, and sacred things are taken and applied to profane uses.

Fines are imposed according to the whim and benefit of the searchers. If a man is fined, and says he cannot pay the fine, his house is visited, his furniture, cattle, and papers are valued far beneath their worth, in order to make up the fine. Thus the rich are suddenly pauperized, and yet they dare not murmur; and the poor are fined twelve pence each time they absent themselves from the Protestant churches; while the Protestants, in opposition to their own teaching and custom, multiply the feasts, and thus ruin the poor.

There are in prison, at present, one Bishop, one Vicar-General, some religious, very many priests, and a vast number of laymen of all classes. In one single town, five mayors were successively cast into prison, because they refused to take the wicked oath of supremacy when entering on their office; in another town, over thirty persons were imprisoned because they received Communion as Catholics on Easter Sunday, and all those had moreover to pay a heavy fine. The protests of these prisoners and the prayers of all the other Catholics are unheeded or laughed and scoffed at. Even the most illustrious Earl of Tyrone, the Catholic Mardochai, has been oppressed in various ways, and at the call of the Lord Deputy he has now come to Dublin. It is not pleasant to be prophets of evil, but the inveterate hatred and malice of heretics towards him make us anxious about his fate.

As the hirelings have gone away for safety, and the other workers lie hid, and even your Fathers, who, we admit, are more zealously looked for by the searchers, what wonder is it that the inhabitants of Drogheda, a populous town, and hitherto so tenacious of the faith, all went to the Protestant churches last Lent—hardly a dozen of them remained away. However, as we had conceived particular hopes of those who are studying in your houses in Belgium, see they are now coming home again, compelled, as they say, to do so by poverty, and, horrible to relate, some of them are not far from ruin!

Therefore we throw ourselves on the old charity of your Reverence, and beg you will lay these facts before the Father and Pastor of the whole world, in whose

peculiar affection towards our nation you gave us such confidence more than a year ago. Beg of His Holiness, in case he would not wish to do more, at least to try, by letters from himself and other Christian Princes, to mitigate the fury of this persecution. Thus we shall see that he feels for our sufferings, and that, though separated from him by space, we are drawn near to him by sympathy.

Above all things we entreat you that virgins bound by the vow of chastity may, by your care, have assistance in those parts, lest the frail sex, being destitute of helps to piety, may suffer a shipwreck which is to be dreaded.

In consequence of such communications from his afflicted country, he gave up his historical researches in Flanders, and in 1608 went to Rome by order of Father General Aquaviva, who wrote to Father Holywood that he would "confer of matters with Harry Fitzsimon when he came from Flanders."

On his way he "passed through Loreto, and in the verie habitation of our Ladie, wherein during her life she dwelled, he prayed and celebrated Masse six times to his greatest comfort." In the same year, and probably at the same time, the famous Hugh O'Neill and O'Donnell went to Loreto on their way to Rome. Fitzsimon knew these illustrious exiles at Rome, and also the Primate, Peter Lombard, and Father Persons, who was visited a few hours before his death on Spy Wednesday, 1610, by Dr. Lombard, and no doubt also by Fitzsimon. Lombard had a precious nephew who acted as a spy on the Irish Earls. This Robert reports to an Englishman named Stanley that a Jesuit of our nation, named Henry Fitzsimon, had speech with one Marcio, who is of

12,000 crowns rent, and hath been a soldier in Hungary and Lieutenant-General in all the Pope's States; and discussing with him of the facility to conquer Ireland, this nobleman, moved with such interest, gave to understand unto the said Jesuit, that he would most willingly engage himself and his fortunes for the like enterprise. This was no sooner with the Jesuit than he communicated it to Tyrone, and with another of his habit, now in Ireland, came to treat with my Lord Primate thereof, with whom when they could not prevail, they cast against him as reproach that he was a friend of the King of England, to which the holy man replied, "I am affected to my Prince," &c.[1]

I am convinced that this story of this unworthy nephew of Lombard and cousin of many Irish Jesuits, was a wicked fabrication, though it gives us the refreshing information of the friendly relations of O'Neill and Fitzsimon, who had not been friends in Ireland. The letter of O'Neill, the letter of James the First, and all Fitzsimon's letters and books, show that he was not only "affected to his Prince," but that he impressed on the Catholics of the Pale, and even of Ireland, the duty of obedience to him in temporal matters. And as to Father Walter Wale, he had lived with and converted the Earl of Ormond, who had ruined the Desmonds and had been the great pillar of the English power in Ireland. Of course the unsupported words of a spy and informer have not much weight and cannot be set against the following statement of Fitzsimon's sentiments:

[1] See Cardinal Moran's Edition of Lombard's *Commentarius de Regno Hib.* p. xxxii.

Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Sir William Warren.

Dec. 25, 1599.

In this last cessation of hostilities concluded between the Earl of Ormond and me, there were sundry breaches by your side committed. . . . Many other things were done contrary to the due course, which in any truce should be observed; and chiefly the cessation is greatly violated by the apprehending of Father Henry Fitzsimon, *a man, to whom (as before God I protest) I am no more beholding than to an Irish Catholic that is restrained in Turkey for his religion*, but I undertake generally to plant the Catholic faith throughout all Ireland. According to my often protestations, I must undertake, be it accepted or not, for all Irish Catholics, and do feel myself more aggrieved that any should be for his religion restrained in time of cessation, than if there were a thousand preys taken from me. Wherefore as ever you think that I shall enter to conclude either peace or cessation with the State, let him be presently enlarged.

On the 12th of March, 1604, James the First ordered Fitzsimon's release, saying: "After our very harty commendations to your lordship and the rest. Wheras, one Henry Fitzsimon, a Jesuit, hath these five years past remained prisoner in the Castle of Dublin, on whose behalf humble sute hath been made to the King's Majestie for his inlargement out of prison. And His Majestie hath bene informed that he hath made so good demonstration of his loyaltie and dutiful affection to His Majestie and the State as deserveth that he should be used with as great favoure as a man of his sorte and qualitie may be capable of."

In that very year, 1608, Fitzsimon printed a book, in which he says: "Who can blame the imps of Satan, the admirers of the world's vanities, the thralls of sin, the emulators and enviers of virtue to detest, defame, and persecute such impugners

as the Jesuits? So that if any particular Jesuit, notwithstanding his institution to the contrary, should ever, being once a *soldier of God, entangle himself with secular business*,[1] and thereby blemish his Order, and so many princes either founders or followers thereof; or if either Garnet[2] or other be in any State matters assuredly attainted—from my heart I say with Aristophanes, 'In all manners condemn him, truss him on a ladder, hang him, scourge him, flay him, rack him, pour vinegar into his nostrils.' For no torments are sufficient for him, that, having the discipline of peace, degenerateth or rather apostatizeth into Reforming rebellions, Calvinian conjurations, Puritanical proditions —such being their turbulent and natural spirit, which troubles seas and lands. They are the Gospellers, whose reformation thirsteth for and cannot be quenched without blood."[3] In that year also he published his *Answer to Sundrie Complaintive Letters of Afflicted Catholics*, in which he says: "You do crave at my hands to animate you towards subjection and not towards sedition, to facilitate that *you resign yourselves to your oppressors and not to resist them;* to induce you to fulfil your duty towards God and *not infringe your duty towards your Prince.* This seems to me so reasonable as neither could I, nor would I, delay giving you all the satisfaction that was in my power."[4] He even exhorts them to resignation, in English verse, for which he had some facility, as we find

[1] 2 Timothy ii.
[2] See his defence of Father Garnet in *Britannomachia*, pp. 281, 283.
[3] See *Life and Letters of Henry Fitzsimon*, pp. 258, and 1.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 1.

from many bits of poetry scattered through his books. He writes:

O worldly judge! we are of stout descent;
Enforce us not to that infernal crime,
Whom love of Christian faith doth more content
Than longest life, much more than worldly slime.
No terror in this case may us dismay,
'Gainst which no princely height or hest we heed;
We never will our faith in Christ betray,
But will it hold in thought, in word, in deed;
On this we rest, both male and female kind,
Both rich and poor, the young and eke the old—
Our goods, our states, our lives to Prince resigned,
Our faith till death we will conjointly hold.[1]

Fitzsimon's views are clearly seen in those passages; and perhaps the spy was prompted by private pique or perhaps by "the foes he left frowning behind" at Dublin.

Among the worthy men whose friendship the Irish Jesuit cultivated at Rome was an ex-Calvinist minister, as the following document shows:

Letter to Father Fitzsimon by Jean de Plantanil, Sieur de la Panse, formerly Calvinist Minister of the town of Béziers.

16th of December, 1610.

As soon as the Reverend Jesuit Fathers of the College of Béziers had disposed the said minister to conversion, after long and oft-repeated conferences, and when the report of his recantation, made in the presence of ten thousand men, came to the ears of the King through Monsieur Le Conestable, to whom M. Le Duc de Ventadour had told it, as well as through the Reverend Father Cotton, His Majesty told both that he wished to see the convert.

The latter being informed of this by the said Lord Conestable and by the Duc de Ventadour, went at once, though the distance was two hundred leagues. His Majesty, in order to show his delight at the conversion,

[1] *Life and Letters of Henry Fitzsimon*, p. 199.

deigned to speak with the convert for two hours in presence of the Lord Conestable. After having heard the narration of the processes of his instruction and conversion, which was followed by the conversion of many others, he congratulated him, offered his assistance against those who would persecute him on account of his conversion, consoled him as a real spiritual Father, rather than as the great King that he was; put before him briefly and with much judgment the chief maxims and morals of Calvinism, and the danger a man would run of being damned for ever by following them as I had done; declared that himself had been once deceived by them, but by the grace of God and the good instructions of Cardinal Perron, and the Reverend Father Cotton, he had found out the truth, for the maintenance of which he was ready to shed even the last drop of his blood; he exhorted him very much to humility in believing the many mysteries which the Church proposes, and to cast off that presumption which heretics have of being more enlightened than their neighbours; otherwise he would have many scruples, as His Majesty felt for two whole years after his conversion, for want of not being able to read books, until Cardinal Perron, Father Cotton, and other learned men supplied the defect. Then His Majesty asked him if he wished to become a priest, and would have the courage to go into the pulpit. He answered that he was ready to do the will of His Majesty and of the directors of his conscience, and that if God gave him that grace, he would be happier to serve Him in that vocation than in any other.

His Majesty then counselled him to go again over his philosophical and theological studies, under the guidance of the Jesuit Fathers, lately re-established in his kingdom, chiefly for the good of his heretic subjects; and he said that, after the studies, he would advance him to some charge worthy of his merits. His Majesty spoke of the desire he had to see Beza converted, as Beza had led him to hope he would be. He expressed the same hope concerning Ferrier,[1] the great Minister of Languedoc, and about several others, and asked how they could be

[1] Ferrier was converted afterwards.

gained, and said to the Conestable that he would shed the best part of his blood to have all his subjects Catholics, like himself.

This first interview took place after dinner at Fontainebleau, on the vigil of the Assumption; and in the evening, after supper, His Majesty sent for the said convert minister, to go to his chamber, and salute, in his presence, the Cardinals de Joyeuse and Du Perron, and the Prince de Condé, to whom he recommended him, after having ordered him to tell the history of his conversion.

The following day His Majesty was anxious to know what the convert thought of Father Cotton's sermon on the Assumption, and was delighted that he was very much edified by it. Since that time the convert, studying theology at Laflèche, had disputes at Saumur with many ministers; and the King, hearing of his success against them, wrote by Monsieur de la Varenne to praise him, and to exhort him to continue. Finally, the same person, taking leave of His Majesty about a year and a half ago, to come to Rome, where he is at present, was asked by His Majesty if he had held any more discussions, and was exhorted to prepare for them, in order to bring back wandering souls to the Church.

Of all this discourse the said convert is willing to bear witness to the Reverend Father Henry Fitzsimon, Hibernian, according to the demand which he has made of him, protesting before God that the above is strictly true. In faith of which he has wished to sign it with his hand, at Rome, this 16th of December, 1610.

JEAN DE LA PANSE.

Fitzsimon made his solemn profession at Rome on the feast of the Assumption, 1608. He spent three years there, during which, among other things, he wrote his work on the Mass, and ransacked the libraries in search of materials for a history of Ireland. He was present at the beatification of St. Ignatius, and on the 20th of February, 1610, he wrote to Belgium an account

of the beatification and miracles of that Saint, and desired it to be communicated to the Provincial, and Fathers Mainfroy, Wadding, Hucquet, and Lentaillue.

On the 9th of April, 1611, he finished his Catalogue of Irish Saints, the merits of which are thus mentioned by O'Sullevan Beare and Bishop Rothe. The former says, "Father Henry of Dublin has compiled by far the most copious list of Irish Saints, with the names of the authors who have written about them. And indeed since our Irish Lives of Irish Saints have been partly taken and destroyed by heretics, and partly hidden by Catholics lest they should fall into the hands of heretics, and since consequently they must be very hard to come at, it is wonderful with what care, diligence, and industry this religious Jesuit has collected so many names of our Saints, and rescued them from oblivion and destruction. Lest elucubrations so remarkable and elaborate should perish, I give them here. . . ." The list contains the names of two hundred and eighty-eight Saints, and the sources whence their Lives may be written, and a short encomium. It ends with the words: "If any one should find out any more, let him deign to communicate it in time, and thus contribute towards the Irish History, which I have now on hands. Rome, this 9th of April, 1611. The servant of you all in Christ,—HENRY FITZSIMON, of the Society of Jesus." One of the entries is "St. Dulach, Hermit—his Life is kept at Malahide in Ireland;" another, "St. Ursula, daughter of the Ard Righ of Ireland. I will show evidently that the other histories and genealogies of her are

fables, and I have answers to objections that may be made against my history." This Catalogue went through six or seven editions, and received many additions in about fifteen years; and most probably it turned the attention of Stephen White, Colgan, and others to the study of Irish history, and thus shows its author to have been one of the founders of modern Irish Hagiography.

Father Fitzsimon returned to Flanders about the autumn of 1611, where, according to Alegambe and Southwell, he found a new field wherein to show his apostolic charity and courage. As the pest was ravaging that country, he at once exposed his life in the spiritual and corporal service of the plague-stricken in order to die a martyr of charity, in Belgium, as he was disappointed in his abiding and oft-repeated hopes of dying a martyr of the Faith in his fatherland. He worked one year in this holy ministry, until he was attacked by the plague. But God preserved him for the good of many men; and when he recovered, being always ready to sacrifice himself, he devoted his time at Liege to prepare for death those criminals who were condemned to the gallows. Dr. Oliver tells us in his *Collectanea* that Rome, Liege, and the Low Countries admired this Jesuit's devotion to the labours of his ministry. It was his pleasure and delight to visit the sick, to attend the infected, to assist prisoners and persons condemned to death; but all the while his heart panted to re-enter the field of hardship and danger in his beloved and afflicted country.

Father Fitzsimon enjoyed the friendship of many distinguished in Flanders; he "was linked

in kindred, acquaintance, and inveterate love with Dr. Cusac, founder and president of Douay." It was, I fancy, about this time or previously that he made the acquaintance of Charles de Croi, Duc d'Arscot, and Prince de Chimai, Knight of the Golden Fleece. Father Young,[1] in his sketch of his friend, says: "Father Henry was endowed with great gifts of nature and grace, and was a very great favourite with princes and leading men. He was once visiting the castle of the Duke of Arscot in Belgium, and was taken by his Grace to see the grand hall, which he had with great expense decorated and hung with paintings. Father Henry with religious freedom censured him for having profaned his house by indelicate pictures; and then he turned his eyes away and fixed them on the floor. The Duke, who expected Father Fitzsimon to praise the purity of his taste, was boiling over with indignation, and reeled to and fro under the unexpected reproof. However, he soon recovered himself, and approaching Father Fitzsimon, who still held his eyes on the ground, he said: 'I thank you from my heart for the wholesome advice you have given me;' and then, giving him his hand, he added, 'and by this right hand, Father Henry, I will get these paintings effaced before the end of one month, and I will have the hall more modestly decorated. Besides I hereby promise you, that before the end of the month I will make a general confession of my whole life to your Reverence.' He did both, to the great wonderment and edification of many people."

[1] Lit. An. Hib. 1640—1652.

The Duke of Arscot spoken of here was most probably Charles Philippe, Prince de Ligne, who had twenty or thirty titles, one of which was Grand Falconer of the Spanish Netherlands.

On the 26th of October, 1611, Father Fitzsimon was at Douay, writing his Dedication of the work on the Mass, which was published that year with the title—"*The Justification and Exposition of the Divine Sacrifice of the Masse, and of all Rites and Ceremonies thereto belonging*, divided into two bookes. In the first booke, Controversies and Difficulties and Devotion belonging to the Masse are discussed in general. In the Second, the First Masse in the Missal is justified and expounded for all and every parcel thereof. By Henry Fitzsimon, Dublinian, of the Societie of Jesus. Permissu Superiorum. Anno Domini, 1611." It contains 448 pages 4to.

He says, as for the style of this book in no part is it curious or affected, yet in some places, as leisure and the vein allowed, more fluent and voluble than in others. "Some mitigation in any censure for my English phrase may the rather be presupposed, that I am not an Englishman, and have lived the greatest part of my age in foreign countries, remote from my nationals, and all English conversation. . . . For errors of ignorance, if any have escaped, and I trust not many, this may certify all the world, that my resolution was, and is, and ever shall be—to hold and avow the only common doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church: in it, and with it to live, and (if God in His mercy says Amen) for it most willingly to die. Therefore if any point, word, or syllable

shall be found contrary to the said doctrine, I shall instantly detest and abjure it. Be it far from me, and from all my nation, to swerve in the least point from any one syllable of that Church's belief, out of which there is no salvation, and in which all Ireland hath ever, and does constantly (excepting some few of little regard) remain. In this is Ireland's greatest glory for itself, and my greatest comfort for the same, that it is by our very adversaries professed to be (as they reproach, but which we as thankfully accept) Papistical ; or in other terms, inseparable from the venerable Pastor of all believing Christians ; and never bred any beginner of a received sect, nor accepted, as I said, in any province, town, or house, for every person thereof, any heresy. The glory be to God our Lord!"

"Being more amply to treat of our quondam incredible glory in the Ecclesiastical History of our Country, and having discoursed thereof before, this may serve to sharpen your appetites towards the treatise now in preparation. I have read in our chronicles, an. 1408, that one Hugh MacGuilmory, having sacked the Church of the Franciscans in Knockfergus and taken away the very iron of the windows—his adversaries, the Savages, pursuing him, could have no entrance to destroy him save by the same windows. . . . I have read in some ancient records of our nation that divers of our Northern monks did use a distinct tonsure in manner of a cross. (*In Membrana Hispa.*) St. Mansuetus, whose sacred body is now in Toul, in Lorraine, was of our country, as I have proved in the Epistle Dedicatory of my work on

Rider's *Caveat*, and am hereafter to prove. . . . The truly named Scots, now called Highlandmen, do profess themselves Irish, do consent and comply with Irish, and disclaim the residue as a distinct generation."

These extracts show that he had in preparation a special treatise on Irish history, and even an ecclesiastical history of Ireland. It has never been published. He was meditating at this time a work in defence of the Society of Jesus, and there is such a work referred to by Ponce de Leon in his approbation of Nieremberg's *Varones Ilustres.* De Leon calls it a treatise, *De Moribus Jesuitarum.*

In 1612 he received letters out of Ireland, from men of the highest honour and dignity, who tell him that Todd, the Anglican Bishop of Down, repudiated his wife and married his cook, and that Henry Ussher, the Protestant Primate, on the death of "his own bulky better half," married the widow of the Bishop of Waterford. But he says, "I can scarcely believe this of an old gentleman who is a kinsman of mine." On the 17th of August, 1613, he got a letter from Father General, asking for an account of his controversies in Ireland, and he answers him thus:

To the Very Reverend and very good Father, Father Claudio Aquaviva.

Very kind Father,—You wrote to me on the 17th of last August, desiring me to give a full and circumstantial account of my discussion with the sectaries in the presence of heretical umpires. You added, that you had never before heard a word about a discussion carried on under such unfair conditions. To satisfy your desire I have written not a letter, but a book, which I dedicate

to your Paternity, and in the Preface of which I treat of that discussion.

It is no wonder that you did not hear of a formal discussion, as it did not take place. It was offered, and announced sometimes with a great show of courage, and the ministers were urged on to dare to meet me; but all this was mere display. . . . To you I proclaim that I am greatly indebted for the immense services rendered by you to myself and my nation. You have kept before your mind the Divine oracles—"And, therefore, love ye strangers. If a stranger dwell in the land, let him be with you as one born among you. My fugitives shall dwell with thee."[1] To us, foreigners and fugitives, you were not only a Father General, as you are to all the members of our Society, but you wished to be our Father Assistant, by the special care that you took of us. With what solicitude have you not rescued us from the greatest difficulties! What refuge and shelter and comfort did you not very often afford us when we were abandoned on all sides! With what an open heart you admitted our candidates—at what expense have you not nursed our sick and infirm; with what anxiety have you not endeavoured to protect us when we were in danger; with what wholesome advice have you not cheered us on, when we were fighting, and fighting the good fight! Under your auspices, in spite of a thousand obstacles, we possess in Spain alone three Seminaries, from which the waters of the Faith incessantly flow over to our kingdom and the neighbouring islands—

> Hæc tanta sunt, quæ nec ventura silebunt
> Lustra, nec ignota rapiet sub nube vetustas.

As a further proof of the esteem Father Aquaviva, no mean judge of his fellow-men, had for the Irish, Fitzsimon quotes the following words written by the German Assistant, Father Duras: On St. Patrick's day, 1604, he says to one of the Provincials of our Order: "The Very Rev. Father General wishes by all means that the Irish should

[1] Deut. x. 19; Levit. xix. 34; Isaias xvi. 4.

be admitted [into the various Provinces], since they seem to be in a certain way made for our Institute by their humility, obedience, charity, and fame for learning, in which things, by the testimony of all places, they very much excel. Hence his Paternity writes to most of the Provincials, desiring them to open and dilate their charitable hearts to their Irish candidates."

In May, 1614, Fitzsimon's *Britannomachia*, a 4to of 376 pages, was printed at Douay. He says in the Preface to the Third Book, that it was written in some haste, as his time had to be given to the preparation of another work, and that he reserves to another period the publication of the *Record of the Irish Persecutions;* he calls Rosweyde his most intimate friend and Lessius his most revered master. As Dr. Mason's controversial work had just been put into his hands, he refutes it at once in twenty-two pages bristling with references. It took him fifteen days to read and refute the book. He could not devote more time to it, as the *Britannomachia* was in the hands of the printer who was pressing him to finish at once. He put the brief refutation of Mason as an Appendix, and promised to examine and refute the work more fully at some future day. Mason published an answer to Fitzsimon in 1618, in *Vindiciæ Anglicanæ.* He calls Father Fitzsimon his malevolent and abusive adversary, and having confuted him to his own satisfaction, he flings the following verses after him:

Iamque Britanni
Ecce Britannomachum devictum tendere palmas
Simonidem videre.

The *Britannomachia* went through two editions. The Epistle Dedicatory is not the same in the two copies of Trinity College; in one the approbations are wanting, and Father Aquaviva is said to have been General of the Society for thirty-three years, while the other copy says thirty-four years.

In the year 1615 his Catalogue of Irish Saints was printed at Douay, as we learn from the Bollandists in their *Life of St. Luan.*

In 1619, and before it, he was working at Liege, and there in that year was published the third edition of his Catalogue. Southwell says that, after his recovery from the attack of the pest, he devoted himself specially at Liege to prepare criminals for death, and his zeal was always ready to respond to all the calls of charity. The work on the Irish Saints is an octavo of one hundred and twenty pages, and was edited nine times. Ussher's copy is in Trinity College with his marginal notes. The title is, "*Catalogus Præcipuorum Sanctorum Iberniæ,* recognitus et auctus per R. Patrem Henricum Fitzsimon, S.J." The author quotes Father Richard Fleming's *Kalendarium*, and Father Stephen White's *Collectanea*, and Father White's Lives of St. Brandub, Sedulius, Forquer, Grata, Tynsby, Dr. Travers, Cumera, Kuniald, and St. Ursula. He praises White for his acumen; and Ussher, in a note to this, refers to March, 1611, as if White had written (to him) something on the subject in that year. The Right Rev. Dr. Rothe, in his *Hibernia Resurgens*, says he knew on undoubted authority, that from the moment this Catalogue was published, it was

attacked by Dempster, who threatened to write a book against it and its author.

On the 1st of July, 1620, Father Fitzsimon reached the Imperial camp in Bohemia, went through the Bohemian campaign, and published a history of it, from which extracts are given in the *Life of Henry Fitzsimon*.[1] He was the Generalissimo's particular dear friend, and indeed his "soul-friend," as a confessor is called in Irish. When the Battle of Prague began on the 8th of November, he was ordered to entone the *Salve Regina*, and was answered by the Duke of Bavaria and General Bucquoi. After the battle he fell ill, and was nursed for one month by Karl Von Koningsfeld. He must have suffered very much from the fatigues of that campaign, which were so dreadful that eight Jesuit chaplains of the Bavarian army died in a few months. When he got well, he published some accounts of the campaign, about which I have found the following details. Maraccio in his *Bibliotheca Mariana*, edited in 1648, says: "Henry Fitzsimon, of the Society of Jesus, distinguished for his knowledge in human and Divine science, published under the name of Constantius Peregrinus (as Colvenaer relates in his *Marian Calendar*) a book entitled, *The Victory of Prague obtained in the year 1620 by the help of the Blessed Virgin Mother.* He also wrote other things which are not known to me. He was alive in 1640, eight years ago." George Colvenaer, Chancellor of the University of Douay, had long known Father Fitzsimon, whose *Britannomachia* and Catalogue of Saints he approved in

[1] *Life and Letters of Henry Fitzsimon*, pp. 82—108.

1614 and 1619. In his *Calendarium Romanum*, printed in 1638, when Father Henry was alive, he says: "Concerning the Bohemian campaign, we have the works of Miræus and of Constantius Peregrinus. The latter went through the war, and he is the Rev. Father Henry Fitzsimon, of the Society of Jesus, who took that name because he is always in foreign parts, and is continually travelling about." The Chancellor Colvenaer cannot have been mistaken in attributing this work to Fitzsimon, with whom he lived at Douay for years after its publication. From his testimony and from internal evidence it is certain that Placcius was in error when, in his *Theatrum Anonymorum*, he attributed the work to Baldwin de Yonghe. An answer was written to it in 1621 by Berchtold Von Rauchenstein, with the title of *Constantinus Peregrinus Castigatus.* The title of Father Fitzsimon's book is as follows: "*The Four Months' March of Bucquoi, by which, with God's help, Austria was saved, Bohemia was subdued, Moravia was won, Silesia was overawed, and Hungary was terrified.* To this is added as an Appendix, *Bucquoi's Onward March in the beginning of the year 1621*, written by Constantius Peregrinus, and printed at Vienna in Austria in the year 1621." The work went through at least three editions in 1621, and was translated into Italian in 1625. It is dedicated to Bucquoi's son, Albert de Longueval, Baron de Vaux. This young nobleman, and friend, if not pupil, of Father Fitzsimon, soon became a Knight of the Golden Fleece, General of Spanish Cavalry in the Low Countries, Chamberlain of the Emperor and of

the King of Spain, Great Hunter and Great Wolf-catcher of Artois, Governor of Hainault and of Valenciennes. He married a Contesse de Croi, daughter or relative of Father Fitzsimon's friend, the Duke d'Arschot.

In 1620, Father Fitzsimon, under the name of the candid Dublinian, Candidus Eblanius, published *The Battle of Prague.* It was first brought out at Brünn, and was often edited afterwards. His *Bohemian Campaign* was published at Brünn. On the 29th of January, 1621, he was at Vienna, where, on the 14th of April, the third edition, revised by the author, appeared. He then went on the Hungarian campaign with Bucquoi, intending to write its history, but this general, who was brave to rashness, realizing Father Fitzsimon's anxious forebodings, was killed on the 20th of July. He was surrounded by Hungarians, and received ten wounds in the breast, and five in other parts of the body. Peace was soon after concluded, and, I suppose, our chaplain returned to Belgium with his Walloons and Irishmen.

In the *Life, Letters, and Diary of Henry Fitzsimon,*[1] I gave an abridged translation of these books of Fitzsimon. He reached Bucquoi's camp at Graveneck on the 1st of July, 1620, and found around him princes and nobles from Italy, Belgium, Hungary, Moravia, and Poland, who were entertained at table every day with almost royal hospitality. As an eye-witness he describes the taking of Krumau, Horn, Prachatitz, Pisek, where Lichtenstein was wounded, the skirmish of Postitz, where Tieffenbach distinguished himself,

[1] Pp. 78—108.

and the siege of Raconitz on the 4th of November. Bucquoi was wounded there, and when he beheld his dear friend, Father Henry Fitzsimon, of the Society of Jesus, half-dead with anxiety, he said, "Don't be afraid, Father Henry, and don't abuse a self-accused offender. I have deserved this on the feast of St. Charles, as I did not hear Mass to-day. However, thank God, the wound is not dangerous."

"On the 7th of November, which was Saturday, Bucquoi arrived at Strasitz at nine o'clock in the evening, and having seen to the proper disposition of his troops, he took *his first* meal that day, got his wound dressed and had a little sleep, all in less than three hours. I pointed out to him a Latin chronogram written on the door of the room in which he lay, and I made for him a better and a truer one. I will state what I saw myself at the Battle of the Prague. I cannot forbear accusing myself and others. In our blind zeal we urged Tilly to attack before half of the army could come to his help. The first to warn us of our awful danger was Count Edward Geraldine, a most noble Irishman, councillor of war to the Duke of Bavaria, and the chief means of communication between the Duke and Bucquoi. He is a veteran, and had covered himself with glory at the siege of Ostend, and is now Governor of Udenheim for the Bishop of Spire. This veteran told Tilly of his danger, and Anhalt too perceived it, and proposed to hurl all his forces on us, but fortunately Hohenloe disagreed with him; and Bucquoi arriving at the little bridge, was furious with Tilly and his Bavarians, and at

once sent troops to support him, and had to change his plan of battle. His second order of attack was this: (1) On the right were the Walloons under Verdugo and de Hainin. On their right flank were Gaucherie's horse and some troops of Waldstein under the brave and pious veterans, Colonels Lamotte and Torquato. On their left was the cavalry of de la Croix and Montecuculli. (2) On the left wing were the corps of Preiner, Tieffenbach, and de Marada. (3) In the centre were the Neapolitans under Carlo Spinelli, with the cavalry of Dampier and Lebel. (4) The rear consisted, on the right, of the legions of Saxony and Nassau, supported by some of Dampier's dragoons, and on the left was the legion of Fugger, and the Florentine horse.

"The watchword given by the Duke, who is a most devout client of the Blessed Virgin, was *Maria.* Then as the fight began, Father Henry Fitzsimon was ordered to recite aloud the *Salve Regina*, and was answered by the Duke and Bucquoi.

"This victory, as Candidus Eblanius so well remarked in his little book called *The Battle of Prague*, was as useful as it was glorious. On the octave of All the Saints, on whom the Calvinists have declared war—on a Sunday of which the Gospel was, 'Give to Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar,'—on the vigil of the feast of the Churches of Most Holy Saviour, took place this victory over those who insult the saints, violate the churches, and rob the Kaiser. Generals Lichtenstein and Tieffenbach have told me of the sacrileges com-

mitted at Prague, &c. ; and they heard of them from a distinguished lady who witnessed them. . . .

"It was an illustrious victory, in which took part three Knights of the Golden Fleece, that is, His Highness of Bavaria, Bucquoi, and the Duke of Croy. There were six Dukes, viz., of Bavaria, Bucquoi, Saxony, Weimar, &c.

"On the 9th of November, the feast of the Dedication of the Churches of the Most Holy Saviour, about eleven o'clock, Bucquoi entered Prague to hear Mass in the Church of the Capuchin Fathers. On his own banner there was on one side a cross, and under it, in large letters: *Exurge Deus et judica causam meam.* . . . With regard to his daily prayers I shall follow the advice of Terence: *Tu, pol, si sapis, quod scis, nescias*—'You, my friend, if you are wise, do not know what you do know.' . . . On the other side of the banner was a portrait of the Blessed Virgin, with the words, *Monstra te esse Matrem.* At about twelve o'clock the General arrived at the church, without any haughtiness or the reflection of victory in his face.

"All the Catholics of Prague wished to show themselves to be Catholics, and I have seen them kiss the soutanes of the Jesuit chaplains and of the other ecclesiastics. Some who were not Catholics did the same, but it was easy to know their hearts from their eyes and brows. These good Catholics would have been deprived of everything if we had not come. This I know for certain. They would have even lost their lives. I do not know who are to be first praised, being a perfect stranger amongst them; but I

shall never forget two Catholics who have been tried and purified in the furnace of persecution. Johann Karl Koning Von Koningsfeld and his lady gave me hospitality in their house for a whole month, and, as I was sick, that good lady even nurse-tended me: the recollection of their charity shall never fade from my mind.

"Bucquoi, having gone to a house, at length consulted the doctors on his wound, and was urged by them to go to bed at once. Strange to say, though he had a suite of one hundred and fifty persons, he had no medical attendant. He generally slept with his clothes and boots on, and lay on a thin mattress placed on two planks. He was ordered by the doctors to sleep on a better bed; but he did not cease to work even in bed—he received visits of business, regulated the movements of the troops, took precautions against the petulance of the soldiers. In my hearing he ordered the colonels, majors, and captains to keep the men under their respective colours, and to punish with death any who committed robbery. 'You are to blame for the irregularity of the soldiers; you conceal their crimes from me, and I am held responsible for things which I do not and cannot know, while you connive at them. You say "the soldiers go and come without your knowledge," but I know that they shut your eyes with part of the spoil, and if I can bring home complicity to any of you, I will punish him most severely.' Nevertheless every night Bucquoi heard of robberies committed even by some of the chief men, whom I feel reluctant and ashamed to name. German colonels claim, by prescription, unheard-

of privileges, by which they can resist their commander in certain matters. Bucquoi, in spite of these privileges, taught them to obey him by his commanding attitude and influence, and above all by kindness and affability. However, he could not punish the delinquents, who were of powerful families, but he did what he could, he reproved them severely.

"On the 16th of November the Duke of Bavaria, with his generals, having visited Bucquoi, returned home, and on the 27th of November entered Munich privately—his modesty shrinking from a public triumphal entry. On the same day the physicians despaired of Bucquoi's life; and there were persons who, with many vows and prayers, offered their own lives to God to preserve his precious existence. . . .

"As soon as he felt himself a little better, he went to Prague. Before he left that city, he did what all must admire, but what few, alas! will imitate. He sent his chief secretary for Father Henry Fitzsimon, to whom he said the following words: 'Father Henry, there is some slight gain coming to me from this successful campaign. I know not how much it is. You go, and consider most diligently whether or not I can accept it with a safe conscience. If it brings with it the least burden on the conscience, I trust that you will make it be restored at once.' On the 12th of December, at 2 p.m., he marched to Bohmischbrod, a distance of four German miles. On the 13th he reached Kuttenberg, where he refused to take thirteen horses of the enemy which were offered him, and he paid ten thalers for some

minerals. On the 14th he arrived at Chazlau; on the 16th at Iglau, through Deutschbrod. In Meseritsch he celebrated Christmas, and restored to the market-place a statue of the Blessed Virgin, which had been profaned by the Protestants. On the 27th of December he arrived through Bitesch at Eybecthitz, where he remained till the 1st of January, settling the difficulties of the Moravians, waiting for his soldiers to come up, and holding councils of war."

Dear Albert,[1]—These things I have written briefly, about the four months' march of your most illustrious father. God does not wish the instruments of His wonders to be without honour; hence comes my regard for your father, in whom I honour God, and hence flows this work of mine. From you I ask no other reward, save that you may by my advice always have on your lips, in imitation of your father, those words of the Apostle: "qVI gLorIatVr, In DoMIno gLorIetVr."[2] Thus you may remember with gratitude to God the year of the Battle of Prague. . . .

"Why do you bite me?" said Sigismund, striking the man that praised him when he did not deserve praise. My pen is unpurchasable; I am no mercenary; and yet Bucquoi has often said to me, "Why do you praise me for this?" Hence—omitting often greater subjects of praise—I have published these things without his knowledge, consent, or inspiration. I have witnessed them myself, or have heard them from witnesses the most trustworthy. Perhaps I shall receive the reward that Marulus received from Attila. . . .

Ad majorem Dei ac Deiparæ gloriam!

"Gabor seized the towns on the River Morava. Bucquoi was indignant at this, and, in spite of ice and snow, he moved at daybreak on the 22nd of January from Ravitz, and bore down on the

[1] Bucquoi's son. [2] This chronogram points to the year 1620.

Hungarians, who had got together their forces in an open plain. He pursued them through Ostra, Wessely, and Shasnitz (where he remained up the whole night), to Skallitz on the borders of Hungary, where he remained three days. He then on the 28th of January went to Vienna to give an account of his stewardship, and arrived at sun-down on the 24th, to the great joy of the Emperor.

"On the 2nd of February he gave the Kaiser eighty-five standards, which the Imperial army took at White Mountain, and one hundred and sixty taken since the beginning of this war!

"He got, as a New Year's gift from the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, attached to the College of the Fathers of the Society, the following testimony of their good-will and esteem, on his happy return in the year of our Lord 1621. . . ."

Fitzsimon ends his book with an appalling account of the ravages produced by Protestantism, and exclaims: "Thou, O France, didst see die a violent death, on account of heresy, the King of Navarre, the Cardinal de Guise, three princes, eight dukes, and six marshals. Nay, in the single year of 1572, as heretics themselves confess, twenty-four thousand persons consecrated to God were killed, twelve thousand three hundred females dishonoured, and ninety hospitals were destroyed. In fine, in the ten years' civil war, two millions of every rank and sex perished. Almost all the Kings who tolerated heresy have died suddenly. Francis the First died of burning fever, his tortured soul reminding him that he brought the Turk into Europe. Henry the Second was killed at a tourna-

ment. Francis the Second and Charles the Ninth by poison. Henry the Third and Fourth by the knife. And thou, England, the slaughter-house of priests and the Lerna of sectaries! thou didst most barbarously put to death one Queen, one Cardinal, three Archbishops, one Abbot, four friars, thirteen deans, fourteen archdeacons, sixty canons, three hundred and fifty priests, and eleven Jesuits. Thou hast been the cause of the unjust death of eight earls, ten barons, twenty-six knights, three hundred and fifty gentlemen (without counting those who died in the just defence of their lives), and lastly, one hundred and ten females. Thou didst profane most shamefully nine hundred and eighty-one monasteries, ninety-six colleges, one hundred and ten hospitals, and, like a fury of Hell, thou didst set all Europe in a blaze. Since the Reform no prince of thine died well—Henry the Eighth died despairing; Elizabeth, blaspheming; Prince Henry, raving; and Ann, procrastinating.

"Scotland, thou didst lose by violent death King Henry, in 1567; and Mary, in 1587. . . . Belgium has been the *abattoir* of the brave. At Ostend alone there were killed 7 governors, 15 colonels, 29 majors, 566 captains, 1,188 lieutenants, 332 ensigns, 911 sergeants, 9,100 corporals, 8,000 espazados, and 54,641 privates, and 1,100 women and children—in all 86,189 persons. . . .

"And you, Johann Karl Koning Von Koningfeld, and you, Lady Anna Maria, who have been the shelterers and favourers of priests, and who, as celebrated champions of Christ, have been honoured with a collar of gold from the hand of the Duke of Bavaria, how shall I ever forget you? . . ."

Such are a few interesting extracts from Fitzsimon's war correspondence which is written in Latin, and shows a great command of that language. It was translated into Italian in 1625, and attacked in 1621 and 1622 in the pamphlets of one Berchtold von Rauchenstein.

When Bucquoi was killed on the 20th of July, 1621, it is likely that Fitzsimon remained with his army for some time, and then went back to Flanders, where we trace him in 1626 and 1627.

About this time he converted Tobias Swinburne, and no doubt many other Englishmen were received into the Church by him during his sojourn of twenty-five years in Flanders. In Brother Foley's *Records*[1] I find him mentioned incidentally: "In the year 1633, on entering the English College at Rome, a gentleman gave this account of himself: 'My true name is Tobias Swinburne, *alias* Henry Wentworth. I am the only son of Henry Swinburne, Judge of the Consistorial Court of York. I was born and brought up at York, then went to a well-known grammar school in London. I studied at Oxford for five years, where, by the grace of God and the study of Catholic authors, I left not only my former heresy and friends, who are almost all heretics, but my beloved country also, by a kind of compulsion, in order to seek out the superessential truth. To this I was received by means of Father Fitzsimon, who obtained for me admission to St. Omer's College, where, with the example before me of so many pious and learned Fathers, I might with greater liberty decide upon a future state of life.'"

Father Fitzsimon returned to Ireland in 1630,

[1] Vol. v.

after an exile of twenty-six years. Of this Dr. Oliver says: "Rome, Liege, and the Low Countries admired his devotion to the labours of his ministry. But his heart panted to re-enter the field of hardship and danger in his beloved and afflicted fatherland. At last, when his Superiors allowed him to follow his own inclinations, like a giant he exulted to run his course. The fruits of his activity everywhere appeared in the numerous conversions of heretics, and in the strengthening of the Catholics in the practice of religion. Hence the civil and military authorities marked him out for vengeance."

On the 29th of August, 1634, Father Fitzsimon writes from Dublin to Father Gerard in Rome, whose Life has been published by Father Morris, S.J. In this letter[1] he says "he yet lives in good health," and he had helped Francis Slingsby to convert his mother, brother, and sister, and to repel the assaults of Primate Ussher. On the 12th of May, Father Slingsby wrote to Rome: "Having been four months in Dublin Castle, at length I was to be banished out of Ireland. But a certain lord, being much affected towards me, procured the altering of the sentence, and instead thereof I have been confined to his house, and within three miles round about. My intention being known unto Father Fitzsimon, by what means I know not, I was fain to discover to him the truth of the matter, thereby to oblige him unto silence, and afterwards to the Superior in these parts, whose assistance and counsel have stood me in good stead."

[1] It is given in full at p. 82 of the *Life of Henry Fitzsimon.*

According to a Catalogue of 1637, Father Fitzsimon was in good health for his years, was a preacher and confessor; he was seventy-one years old, forty-six years in the Society, and six on the Mission of Ireland. Patrignani says that Father Fitzsimon not being able to pour out his blood, shed the sweat of his brow in cultivating, as an indefatigable workman, that great Irish vineyard which was so full of thorns; and confirmed the old Catholics in the Faith, and drew many heretics to the fold.

In the month of April, 1640, Father Robert Nugent, who was Lord Inchiquin's uncle or granduncle, and Father Fitzsimon's Superior, writes to Rome: "We live here in peace and are performing the functions of our ministry without peril, but also with discretion and caution." On November the 12th he says, "We are in suspense between hope and fear; . . . certain things have been done, from which many fear that dangerous times are coming." On the 22nd of November he writes from Dublin that his fears and anxieties are intensified; and he asks for prayers for the Irish Jesuits and their afflicted country. On the 24th of March, 1642, he says: "No human pen could describe the miseries of this kingdom; nothing is seen or heard of but depredations, murders of men, women, and children; and burning of property, and utter ruin of families and their homes. The passions are so excited that it seems the war cannot be ended without the extinction or expulsion of one of the contending parties. The Irish are superior in numbers, but nearly all unprovided

with arms; and I do not see what chance they have against an enemy who is perfectly equipped, and furnished with all kinds of arms. Here nothing goes on but burning and slaughter, fire and sword." Father O'Hartigan writes on the 5th of August that Father Cavel, S.J., of the Dublin residence, being paralyzed, could not leave Dublin; he was seized and flogged, and then flung into a vessel with nineteen other religious and priests. He reached La Rochelle nearly dead, and he was most charitably received by Father Destrades, Rector of our College, who has given him a lay-brother to help him. Father Nugent writes on the 10th of November, 1642, that up to last May "nothing was more familiar to us than the promiscuous murders of *innocent Catholics of every sex, rank, and age*, as the Puritans were well armed and furious—they burned villages, hamlets, whole towns, and the mansions and castles of the nobles and gentlemen; they set fire to the barns and cornfields; and they were determined to destroy all Irishmen, and leave no trace of them behind. But, thanks be to God, Owen O'Neill's arrival in the North has put a stop to their work. The tumults of war have deprived the members of our Society of any certain means of subsistence, and some of us live with our friends, and some in the towns which are free from the power of the Puritans. Several religious and other clergymen have been put to death already. None of Ours has yet received that honour; but Fathers Robert Bathe, John More, and John Bathe, who lived in the Drogheda residence, have been imprisoned by the Puritans for a whole month, and their

future fate is uncertain. Fathers Quin, Pursell, and Lattin, in spite of all dangers, remain in Dublin to help the persecuted Catholics. Father Quin specially assumes all kinds of disguises with success—he turns out as a military man, a gentleman at large, and a peasant, &c. *Postscript:* I have just heard that the two Fathers Bathe are still hidden in Drogheda, and Father More has escaped; but Father Lattin has been taken and imprisoned. We have lost all our property here for the present." In February, 1643, the same writer says that "all the Fathers had left Dublin, except Father Quin, who works day and night among the faithful, and Father Pursell, who is ill and lying hid; while Father Lattin is kept in the closest custody in a horrible prison. The others, who belonged to the Dublin residence, live with their friends or in our residences of the Catholic quarters."

On the 3rd of August, 1643, Father Dillon, whose brother, the Earl of Roscommon, had joined the Puritans, writes as late Superior of the Dublin residence: "Out of the sixteen or seventeen Fathers of our Dublin residence, only three remain in that city. At the end of 1641 I retired to some short distance in the country, having previously sent our Fathers to places of safety, leaving only four there. One of these, Father Cavel, was paralyzed, and could not be moved without danger to his life. The Puritans cruelly banished him to France, and he has since died, a true confessor of the Faith. Another Father (Father Lattin), while he attended the sick, was captured and imprisoned; a third (Father Pursell)

is sick, and keeps within doors, and renders the service of his ministry to all who go to him. As I could not be of any help in Dublin, I have been sent to Galway, the most western corner of Ireland, and perhaps of Europe. Galway is a small, but populous, neat, and well-built town, constructed of unpolished marble. Our house is rather near the Puritan fort, and opposite to it; and as our enemies are generously attentive to us, they send us sometimes iron balls that weigh thirty pounds, and have knocked down a great part of our roof."

Neither Father Fitzsimon's Rector nor Provincial says a single thing about him. What became of him during all that time? He is never even mentioned in the voluminous correspondence of the Irish Jesuits from the year 1630 to 1660, when Father Young wrote a little sketch of his life, from which and from other sources I have gathered the following facts:

Father Fitzsimon, having been condemned to be hanged, was forced to leave the Dublin residence of the Society, and to fly by night to distant mountains, in company with many Catholics, who were expelled from the city in the winter of 1641. Winding his way (by Dundrum or Terenure) through sequestered woods and dells, climbing steep hills, "creeping and moving from place to place in order to escape his pursuers;" travelling on foot over rough rockways[1] (on to Glencree where the old maps mark a "mountain and bog"), and where he was sheltered in a shepherd's cabin in a bog. There, among the faithful clans of

[1] The words in parenthesis are suggested to me by the study of old maps and Fraser's *Guide to Wicklow.*—E.H.

Wicklow, he was safe from the pursuit of those who thirsted for his blood; and he spent the dreary winter, or two winters, exposed to the fury of storms and rain. His bed was a pad of straw, which was always wet with rain from the roof, or with "the rising and coming in of the waters of the bog," while the rents in the thatch of his wretched hut allowed him to gaze on the glories of the starry heavens. His condition is accurately described by Primate Plunket in an account of his own flight and place of refuge: "I and my companion, the Bishop of Waterford, deemed it necessary to take to our heels—the snow was falling fast and heavily, mixed with hard and large hailstones; a cutting wind blew in our faces, and the snow and hail beat so dreadfully into our eyes, that, up to the present, we have scarcely been able to see with them; and we were often in danger of being lost in the valleys and ravines, or suffocated in the snowdrifts. At length we reached a house, and were sheltered in a large garret without fire or fireplace, where we have spent the last eight days, our eyes still sore and running from the effects of the tempest of hail: my teeth are aching frightfully, and my brother-Bishop's arm is suffering, and nearly paralyzed by rheumatism. From that garret we have removed to a hut made of straw; when we lie down to rest, through the openings in the roof we are favoured with a view of the stars, and are refreshed, even at the head of the bed, by each succeeding shower of rain. Our food is a little oaten bread, but we will die of hunger and cold rather than abandon our flocks."

This may give some idea of Father Fitzsimon's trials; but he was nearly forty years older than the Primate, and must have suffered more acutely. What a pity it is, that the historian of the Bohemian campaign did not write a diary of his doings and sufferings in the glens and mountains of Wicklow; or that the Jesuits, who sheltered him before his death, did not write down the details that he must have unfolded to them.

In the midst of all his privations he was consoled by the filial affection, attention, and devotedness of his faithful companions, who revered and loved him as a most cherished Father, and did what they could to alleviate his sufferings. In spite of his years and ailments, "this blessed Father" and "brave confessor of Christ" was always active and unwearied in well-doing; his greatest consolation was to go from village to village, or from cabin to cabin, instructing the children, administering the sacraments to the adults, and giving comfort to all the Catholics within his reach. The heart-beaming smile never faded from his face; his hearty "stentorian" voice and his merry laugh roused them up—he was still the "Harry Fitzsimon" of Dublin Castle and of the Bohemian camp, with his elastic, characteristic, unextinguishable good-humour. Many merry tales he told them of the days of long ago, of his travels, his trials, and his triumphs; and he unfolded the glories of ancient Ireland, and bid them look forward to better days. His early biographers were so careless about dates, that it is impossible to say how many winters he spent in this way. I think it likely that he remained in the mountains

to look after the spiritual interests of the faithful. He could easily, under the guidance and protection of the O'Birnes, or O'Tooles, or Kavanaghs, have reached our residences of Kilkenny, Wexford, or New Ross early in the year 1642. His *confrères* did not seem to know what had become of him, as they are said to have been as astonished to see him as if "he had fallen from the clouds." The hunger and cold, the damp and the pestiferous air of the swamps at last told disastrously on his aged frame. When winter had passed, and when he had an opportunity of leaving his place of refuge, "being in a manner spent, and his age not being able to bear such privations, he was with much ado brought by his companions" to the quarters occupied by the Irish army.

He was probably brought along the ground, now marked by the great military road, to New Ross, Wexford, or Kilkenny, and it is most likely that he was taken to the latter city, which was the head-quarters of the Irish Confederation and of the Society of Jesus. There he was received with all charity by our Fathers, who looked on him as if he had fallen from the skies. But nature was exhausted, and the good priest, having contracted a mortal disease during his winter residence in a bleak mountain marsh, was soon taken to the mansion of eternal rest. During his last illness, his whole being breathed piety; he spoke burning words with God, and of God with those who visited him, whether they were strangers or persons of the house. When the Litanies and the Commendation of the Soul Departing were read for him, he began to recite with the greatest devotion the

Angelical Salutation. On coming to the Holy Name of Jesus, he gathered all the breath that was in his breast in order to pronounce it, wishing to breathe forth his soul with that Sacred Name. Not being able to utter that Name aloud, although he made repeated efforts, he turned his eyes on the crucifix, and, with dying voice breathing the words, JESU, MARIA, he calmly resigned his soul into the hands of his Creator on the 29th of November, 1643.

Such is the account given of the last moments of his blessed and laborious life by Father Young, who perhaps attended him, and was Novice-Master in Kilkenny at the time, and was celebrated for his sanctity. This writer adds that heresy feared the pen of Father Fitzsimon, and Ireland admired and loved him for his piety and the great gifts of nature and grace with which Almighty God had endowed him. Wood, the historian of Oxford, says: "By his death the Catholics lost a pillar of their Church, being esteemed a great ornament among them, and the greatest defender of religion, and most noted Jesuit in his time—where he died and was buried my informant tells me not." Even the date of his death is given differently by various authors, as the 29th of November, 1643; the 1st of February, 1644; the 29th of November, 1645. I imagine that the earliest date, which is given by Father Young, is the correct one.

De Backer, in his *Bibliothèque*, says that Fitzsimon was a clever controversialist, taught philosophy for many years in Belgium, went into Ireland, where he acquired a great reputation by his conferences with the Protestant ministers. By

his zealous labours he won the glory of a long imprisonment, and of being sentenced to be hanged. The *Imperial Dictionary of Biography* informs us that his spirit of intrigue and hostility to heretical governments involved him in the Irish rebellion of 1641 ; but where did the writer find *that?* Cooper, in his *Biographical Dictionary*, says he died *miserably!* In Michaud's *Biographie Universelle*, it is said that in 1641 he was condemned to be hanged, but escaped and wandered in the woods, mountains and bogs, ever going through the villages to teach the children and confirm the Catholics in the Faith. At last he found some shelter, and died, in 1644, full of good works.

XI.

FATHER JAMES ARCHER.

THE new *Dictionary of National Biography* says that "James Archer was a great promoter of education, and was very dear to Irishmen, over whom he possessed unbounded influence; he was a famous missioner in Ireland during the war of Tyrone." A sketch of his life must have been written between the years 1617 and 1626, and it is to be got in the Jesuit Archives in Rome or Spain; but the only materials at present available for even a fragmentary account of his extraordinary career are to be found in the *Life and Letters of Father Henry Fitzsimon*, the *Hibernia Ignatiana*, the *Pacata Hibernia*, and the State Papers. The two last sources I deem utterly untrustworthy, and I have long doubted whether I should draw on them and bring to a focus all the villainous lies, written by informers, poisoners, cut-throats, and their employers against the character of Father Archer. I have further hesitated for this reason that many readers will believe these reports, or think there is something in them, and according to their national or religious prejudices, condemn or admire the priest whose great ability drew so much obloquy on him. I was consequently afraid of being justly accused of dealing unfairly,

and, in the absence of certain documents, of trifling with the memory of a very worthy man. However, I will make the venture as our biographies would be incomplete without a sketch of him; but I will first give an antidote to such poisonous reports as some might be tempted to swallow.

The first to record the movements and actions of Archer, in 1577, was Sir William Drury, Lord President of Munster, who according to his own account, in this first year of office, hanged at Cork forty-three "notable malefactors," pressed one to death, drew and quartered three. At Limerick he hanged twenty-two; at Kilkenny he executed thirty-six, and put to death "a blackamoor and two witches," though he found no law to try them by in the realm. In his second year he hanged four hundred "by justice *and* martial law," he hanged a friar in his habit for attempting to leave the country, and hanged a "brehon" who was much esteemed among the common people, and taught such laws as were repugnant to Her Majesty's. On these and such deeds Mr. Webb remarks: "The cruel rule of the Presidents showed the Irish chiefs that the fine speeches at Sydney's reception *had been but an affectation to delude them into quiet while English authority was establishing itself.*"[1] Other propagators of reports concerning Archer were Cecil, Mountjoy, and Carew, who have left it to posterity in their own handwriting "that they had hired men to do murder, and Carew had with his own hand done it" twice.[2] On one of the murders committed by Carew even Walsing-

[1] *Compendium of Irish Biography.* By A. Webb, M.P., p. 160.
[2] *Life of MacCarthy Mór*, p. 115.

ham remarks, "George Carew hath lately committed *a very foul act*, able to make the Irishmen to enter into an hatred of us, trusting us in nothing, and thinking there is treachery in any fair promises we make them."[1] Archer is also reported as a villain and traitor by informers, poisoners, and cut-throats, such the Atkinsons and Bird, whose testimony is worthless and in many things glaringly false, and by Gerald Comerford, a pervert and Judge, who was a persecutor of the Catholic religion. I regret to have to add to this list one of his own religious brethren, Maurice Wise, of Waterford, who was a kinsman of Robert Lombard, the English spy in Rome, and was so useless as a missionary that not being able to preach in English, or speak in Irish, he was by his Superiors confined to his native city of Waterford, where he lived undisturbed by the English, and by them or their agents was used as a tool to damage, in the mind of the General of the Society, a distinguished and zealous priest, who for seven years lived in the woods and bogs and on the mountains, preaching to the poor, and who on the Continent for nearly twenty years did immense service to the persecuted people of Ireland. How different from his conduct is that of Archer's Irish Superiors, Father Holywood, "the Fingallian" lord of Artane and other manors, and of Father De la Field, both gentlemen of the Pale and of English sympathies. Holywood, though in a paper among the Ussher manuscripts of Trinity College he is said to have been "pure Englisched," says simply, "Father Archer, because he lives in one part of

[1] Webb's *Compendium of Irish Biography*, p. 72.

the island, though he do nothing, is called a traitor and promoter of sedition, and Father Fitzsimon, because he lives in another, is called a heretic." This learned and holy priest, though living in the heart of the Pale, never in his long correspondence says a word that would reflect on Archer as a man, an Irishman, a religious or a priest; and when he wanted to prevent his return to Ireland in 1604, he tells Father General that he would be most welcome among his brethren but should wait for better times, as his return then might be inexpedient for him and them. The only thing Father De la Field could find against him was that he was overzealous in suppressing excesses among the Irish soldiers, and that twice or three times he acted as intermediary between the Spaniards and Irish. Father Fitzsimon, another palesman and "Unionist," who is called a loyal man by James the First, says merely that Archer was too partial to the College of Salamanca; and though he must have heard many reports and rumours in Dublin, he says not a word about Archer's meddling in politics. Lastly, Aquaviva, one of the greatest Generals of the Society of Jesus, evidently did not credit the evil reports that reached him from all sides, thus responding to Archer's appeal, "I trust your Paternity will judge me in all charity, and will not condemn me on the report of those who know nothing of myself or my actions." He even appointed this calumniated religious to a post of the highest trust in the Peninsula.

Good cause had Father Archer to make the above reasonable request; for he was misrepre-

sented by English agents in Ireland, England, Rome, and Spain; and unfortunately those who set a price on his head, and "set a draught" for him, and employed men to murder him, and whispered false accusations to his brethren about him, are almost our only authorities about "himself and his actions." In the State Papers they describe his personal appearance and his dress, and have even left us portraits of him. Now these records are utterly unreliable as coming not alone from enemies, but from unscrupulous and untruthful enemies, men like those of whom the great Earl of Kildare said, "I know them too well to reckon myself convict by their base words or heedless hearsays, or frantic oaths. Of my cousin Desmond, they may lie lewdly, since no man can here well tell the contrary. Touching myself I never noted in them either so much wit or so much faith, that I could have gaged upon their silence the life of a good hound, much less mine own."[1]

To judge of Archer's actions we must remember that in the year 1596 he was sent to the Irish princes and people, who had souls to save as well as the gentlemen and citizens and people of the pale, to whom Father Fitzsimon was sent at the same time. Those Irish princes and chieftains seemed to him, and to many much higher than he was, to be acting legitimately in defence of their

[1] Campion's *Historie of Ireland*. Cecil, one of Archer's enemies, is described by Weston, Lord High Treasurer, as

> Owning a mind of dismal ends,
> As traps for foes and tricks for friends.

(Weldon's *Memoirs of Elizabeth and James the First.*)

lives, their liberties, their altars and their homes. Few will now think that their action was not as legitimate as that of the lords and gentlemen of the Confederation of 1641. I do not know whether he was "guilty" of many or any of the things imputed to him, and I do not purpose to excuse him; I merely want to define his position for the reader, "that he may the better judge." According to Lord Macaulay, "A few weeks before the death of Elizabeth the conquest which had begun more than four hundred years before by Strongbow, was completed by Mountjoy. Scarcely had James the First mounted the English throne, when the last O'Donnell and O'Neill, *who have held the rank of independent princes*, kissed his hand at Whitehall. Thenceforward his writs ran and his judges held assizes in every part of Ireland."[1]

Hence Sir John Davis, the Attorney-General of Ireland, dedicated a book to James the First, entitled, *A Discovery of the State of Ireland with the true causes why that Kingdom was never subdued or brought under obedience of the crown of England until the beginning of His Majesty's most happy reign.* It would not be astonishing, then, if Archer looked on the princes and chieftains as perfectly justified in defending their independence; and that seems to have been the opinion of the Pope, and all save the Englishmen, who chose to call these men rebels, that in the time of Elizabeth's father were called "the Irish enemye."

James Archer was born at Kilkenny in the year

[1] Macaulay's *History*, i. p. 65, Edit. 1849.

1550,[1] was educated at the famous school of Kilkenny, which was presided over by Dr. Peter White; he entered the Society at Rome on the 25th of May, 1581, was professed of the four vows in Spain, and died some time between 1617 and 1619 or 1625. He was thrice on the Irish Mission in most perilous times; he possessed immense influence over the Irish nobles and chieftains, and was cordially hated and most diligently tracked by the representatives of English rule or misrule in Ireland. In Spain, where he died, he was Rector of Salamanca, and was for fourteen years the Superior of all the Irish Jesuit Colleges in the Peninsula.

His family, of which he was the most distinguished member, went the way of nearly all the Irish families of that period, and, like the Bathes, have left behind them only a house, a tombstone, and a chalice. John Archer was sovereign of Kilkenny in 1499, and in that year was slain in a battle in which his lord, the Earl of Ormond, was defeated by the O'Briens of Thomond. Under the great window of the south transept of St. Mary's Church, Kilkenny, there is a tomb with a Latin inscription in raised old English characters, which says: "Here lies Walter Archer FitzJohn, late Burgess of the city of Kilkenny, who died December 1, 1575, and Johanna Hacket his wife, who died September 16, 1565, on whose souls God have mercy. Amen." A chalice at Clonakilty,

[1] So it is stated in the *Libro dei Novizi*, in which the names of the novices were entered in that time; but the catalogues of 1609 and 1617 give the dates of his birth and entry respectively, as 1545, 1573; 1549, 1583.

county of Cork, bears the inscription, "Societatis Jesu Kilken. ora pro anima D. Margaretæ Archer Walteri, anno Domino 1618." Walter Archer, a gentleman of one of the first families of Kilkenny, proved his constancy to the faith by enduring a long and painful imprisonment for having opposed the desecration of the Dominican Abbey in that city; he died in exile the 24th of August, 1604.[1]

These Archers were an old civic stock of wealth and importance in Kilkenny. One of their residences still stands in High Street; a panel on the wall bears their arms, a chevron ermine between three pheons, with the date 1582. They were related to the Roths, and at Roth's castle of Kilcreene is a stone escutcheon inscribed "The atchievement of Richard Roth, late Mayor of Kilkenny, 1629." It displays the arms of Roth and the arms of Archer, with the initials "J. A." These families belonged to the principal clans of "the faire citie," who are mentioned in the couplet,

> *Archdekin*, *Archer*, Cowley, *Langton*, *Ley*,
> Knaresborough, Lawless, *Ragget*, *Rothe* and *Shee*.

Those which I have italicized gave members to the Society of Jesus; the only ones at present represented are the Langtons, from which sprang Father Langton, S.J., and the Cowleys, from whom descends the Duke of Wellington.

Archer seems to have distinguished himself at the school of Peter White, as Stanihurst,[2] in 1584,

[1] Bishop Rothe, quoted in O'Reilly's *Martyrs and Confessors*, p. 150.

[2] "Quos ego hic Whiteos, quos Quemerfordos, quos Walsheos, quos Wadingos, quos Dormeros, quos Shethos, quos Garveos, quos Butleros, quos Archeros, quos Strongos, quos Lumbardos excellentes ingenio et doctrina viros commemorare potuissem." (*De Rebus Hibernicis*, p. 25.)

mentions the Archers among the talented and learned men trained by this Oxford scholar. From Kilkenny he went to Louvain, as we learn from the State Papers. When he was only twenty-six years old, in 1577, the Lord President of Munster reported to Walsingham :[1] "The students of Ireland that are in Louvain and come from thence, are the merest traitors and breeders of treachery that liveth, by whose means I doubt not James FitzMaurice hath much favour in Rome. Whereof there are in these parts about Waterford and Clonmel four principal prelates. The first is called John White, . . . the second is James Archer of Kilkenny, a detestable enemy to the Word of God. He did swear against Her Majesty's jurisdiction in Louvain, and to read not in no English book. He arrived the last March and came then out of Louvain. The third is Dr. Quemerford,[2] of Waterford, also of late come out of Louvain. He and all the rest taught all the way betwixt Rye and Bristol against our religion and caused a number to despair."

On the 21st of August, 1578, Archer was at Kilmallock and paid a visit to Father Conor O'Rorke, O.S.F., who was to be executed the next day. Dr. O'Hely, O.S.F., Bishop of Mayo, and his chaplain Father O'Rorke were imprisoned for some months in Limerick. They were brought before the Lord President Drury at Kilmallock, their bodies placed on the rack, their arms and feet beaten with hammers, their thighs were broken, needles were run in under their nails.

[1] Brady's *State Papers*, p. 23.
[2] See a sketch of him given previously.

Then they were hanged from a tree, and while hanging there for fourteen days were used as targets by the English soldiers.[1] Hartry in his history of the Cistercian Order in Ireland, says that Father O'Rorke was so fortunate as to earn the palm of martyrdom; the reverend and venerable Father James Archer, S.J., told me, when I was in Spain, that he visited him the night before his execution, and that he was comely of feature, innocent in life, kindly in conversation, and that he had scarcely reached the age of thirty when he was hanged.[2]

As Archer in 1577, and from 1596 to 1603, lived always among the mere Irish, and saw as much of their ways in every quarter of Ireland as perhaps any man ever did, a few words about their manner of life and his may not be out of place. An Italian traveller sent a report to Rome in the year 1579; it is given in full in Cardinal Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, and contains the following details: "Every traveller sets up at the first house he meets, and gets everything gratis. Table is not laid till evening, but drink is not denied to travellers. There are eight drinks: beer, made of barley and water, milk, whey, wine, broth, mead, made of milk and honey, usquebaugh, and spring water; the men wear mantles, the women wear widespreading large linen bonnets; their table knives are longer than their daggers. The most honourable sits in the centre and all sit facing the entrance door, to be, as they say, always

[1] O'Reilly's *Martyrs and Confessors in the Reign of Elizabeth.*
[2] P. 259 of Hartry's *Triumphalia Chronolog. Monasterii S. Crucis in Hibernia.* Edit. by Father D. Murphy, S.J.

ready to repel their enemies. They arise at midnight for prayer and meditation, to which some devote an hour, others half an hour. The fires are always lighted at the same time. The language is like Hebrew, many letters are aspirated, hence it seems different when written and pronounced. At the *Pater noster* of Mass they rise and remain standing. The men salute each other with a kiss. On Wednesdays they abstain from flesh meats, and on Fridays from whitemeats and milk. They are very kind and urbane to each other; during six months I never saw even the soldiers come to blows, even the horses and dogs agree. They eat a great deal when food can be found, but fast with alacrity for two or three days. Inviolably faithful to their chiefs; in battle each one follows his own ardour and rushes on the ranks of enemy, not paying attention to his companions. In swiftness they equal and sometimes surpass the horses; they mount their horses seizing them by the left ear, they use no stirrups or leggings; the nobles are clothed in garments of skin adorned with various colours; they cultivate sacred poetry with great assiduity, but always after fasting and prayer. The bards act always in negotiations. Before thanksgiving (at meals) the bishop or priest who may be present makes an exhortation, and all listen with great attention."

How long Archer remained in Ireland after his visit in 1577, what work he did there, and what risks he ran, we have considered already in the sketch of his companion, Father Quemerford; it is stated by Bird, the priest-catcher, that at this time, or certainly before 1590, he was captured and

imprisoned in London, but escaped. He became a Jesuit the 25th of May, 1581, and became "well-known by English Protestants in Flanders and elsewhere:" before 1592 he was a priest at the University of Pont-à-Mousson with Fathers Fleming, De la Field, and Holywood,[1] and was in that year sent to Salamanca to help to found an Irish College. This College grew up from 1592 to 1617[2] under the care of Father Archer, who came from France, or of Father White, or of Father Richard Conway, who had made his novitiate in Portugal.

In the month of October, 1596, Archer, under the name of Bowman, landed at Waterford, as we learn from the State Papers,[3] and gave a letter from the Irish Rector of Salamanca to a Mr. Devereux. The letter found its way into the hands of the Lord Deputy, who cast Devereux into prison, and "set a draught" for Archer. Father Archer, says his friend O'Sullivan-Beare, was a great enemy of Protestantism, and hence was the object of the implacable hatred of the English. He first went to O'Neill, then to O'More (Prince of Leix), and at last to O'Sullivan and other Catholics, who were opponents of heresy, and by his zeal, counsel, and help, he never failed them. To the heretics he was an object of terror, and even wonder: they fancied he could walk on the sea, fly through the air, and do other superhuman things, and affirmed that he should be

[1] MS. vol. of Roman Archives S.J. *Anglia* (1590—1615), p. 121.
[2] *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, x. 300.
[3] *Life of H. Fitzsimon*, p. 206, and Calendar of State Papers, *Ireland*, an. 1596.

called not Archer, but Archdevil.[1] The esteem in which he was held by his countrymen may be gathered from these words of the author of the Life of MacCarthy Môr.

"From such masters as Father Archer and MacEgan, Cecil himself might have learned something. From these men, or men like them, MacCarthy Môr might have derived the intimate knowledge which, beyond all men of his day, he possessed of the state of Ireland, its strength and weakness, the alliances and power of its chiefs, the personal character of every man of note sent out from England."[2] Hence on account of his supposed antagonism to English rule, he was tracked in 1596, and "was at length discovered in Wexford county and was near being taken by a draught laid by the Lord Lieutenant, but unhappily escaped."[3] In 1597 he got a letter from Father General congratulating him and Father Fitzsimon on their success, and warning them to be watchful, and not to compromise in any way the safety of their countrymen. In 1598 he had collected funds all over Ireland for the Irish College of Salamanca, to the interests of which he was devotedly attached.[4] His missionary labours were very successful, and would have produced greater results if from the moment he landed his steps had not been dogged by the spies of the Lord Deputy. He had to keep aloof from the eyes of

[1] *Hist. Catholicæ Compendium*, Edit. 1621. This is confirmed by a letter of the Lord President of Munster to the Lord Deputy, given further on.

[2] *Life and Letters of MacCarthy Môr.* By MacCarthy Glas, p. 6.

[3] Calendar of State Papers, *Ireland*, 1603, p. 80.

[4] *Life of Henry Fitzsimon, S.J.*, pp. 206, 47.

men and to lurk in hiding-places, where he remained some time till he thought he was forgotten, and then began his work again; in that year he exercised the functions of his ministry with such success that he brought a great many heretics back to the fold.[1]

He wrote to Father General on the 10th of August, 1598, the eve of the victory of the Yellow Ford, "In haste from the camp:"

Very Reverend Father,—Your letter of the 14th of March did not reach me till the 1st of August, although Father Fitzsimon received it three months before that time. I am reduced to the greatest straits since my arrival, and have seen Father Fitzsimon only once, and that for less than an hour. I have sent many letters to Spain with money for the students of Salamanca, and by the same way I have sent letters to your Paternity, but I have received no answers. I presume merchants do not like to bring any letters to or from me. This is natural, as the English Government hates me very much, hunts me very often in frequent raids, and has set a price on my head. This forces me to live in the woods and in hiding-places. I cannot even return to Spain, as merchants are afraid to receive me into their vessels, well knowing that there are spies in every port on the look-out for me.

Meanwhile, I work as a true son of the Society; I have already heard many thousand confessions; I have instructed an uncultivated and barbarous people; I have brought back some to the Church; I have reconciled a noble person and his wife, and thus put a stop to dangerous dissensions which existed among members of both families who were leading men in the land. I have administered the sacraments in the camp, and it is marvellous what crowds come from the surrounding districts to hear Mass and go to confession. What a great harvest could be reaped here, if several Fathers of

[1] Letter of Father Hamill, a secular priest. (*Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 40.)

our Society were sent to us! All the nobles of the country, specially those of the north, are very anxious to have our Fathers, and they promise every protection and help, and certain lands for their maintenance. This region is very uncultivated, ignorant, and barbarous; yet the people have the greatest respect for religious, and from this place apostolic excursions might be made into other parts with greater safety and advantage. The chiefs in the south wish also to have our Fathers, but they do not dare to patronize and protect them openly. They will protect them, however, and take every care of them. The frequent victories of the Catholics give us great hopes at present, as the heretics are forced to abandon various places.

Dr. Cornelius Stanley,[1] Vicar Apostolic, urgently asked me to come hither and help him in spiritual matters, and in a short time I converted ten priests who were living in schism and concubinage. Some Catholics had won back certain Church property from the heretics; and for the peace of their consciences, with the advice and authority of Dr. Stanley, I dispensed with them on condition of their contributing towards the Irish College of Salamanca. In this I trust I have done nothing against the Institute, and in this, as in other things, *I trust your Paternity will judge me with all charity and will not condemn me on the report of those who know little or nothing of myself or of my actions.* I cannot tell you how much I should do for religion, if I could work openly among men, as I hope others will be able to do, who have not lived with our adversaries, as I have done in Flanders and elsewhere. I mean to go to Spain from the north at the first opportunity. I have not been able to leave up to the present time, as all the ways are blocked up. Your Paternity will always find in me a faithful, humble, and obedient son of the Society.

JAMES ARCHER.[2]

Such is the substance of Father Archer's letter. Now let us read "the reports." Archer was "at

[1] Vicar General of Meath or Armagh.
[2] *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 38.

the camp" with the Earl of Desmond on the 14th of March, 1599, and on that day indited the Earl's letter to the King of Spain.[1] From his prison in the Tower of London, Father Holywood writes on the 11th of May, "*Our lot in Ireland is a hard one*, the whole island is divided, it is full of soldiers, and party spirit runs so high that Bertram's first-born (Archer), who is in one part of the kingdom, (*even though he may do nothing to deserve that name*),[2] is held up as an author of sedition and rebellion, and Bertram's youngest son (Fitzsimon) is looked on as a propagator of heresy." Probably it was from his cousin, Lord Dunsany, then in London, that Holywood got this information. Again, on the 1st of September, 1599, De la Field, appointed in place of Holywood the prisoner, as Superior of the mission, says to Father General that he had not yet seen Archer, but had heard that he was grievously wounded by a soldier while he was endeavouring by words and something more striking than words to induce him to give up his evil manner of life. According to Sir J. Dowdall's letter to Cecil, Bishop Craghe, Father Archer and Father James O'Carney were with the Irish lords and captains when they resolved to confederate with O'Neill.

In 1599 Father James Gordon-Huntley, a Scotch Jesuit of great holiness and learning, philosopher, theologian, jurist, and Hebrew scholar, came to Ireland as Apostolic Nuncio, and no doubt had interviews with Archer in the north. He went on a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Patrick in Down,

[1] Calendar of Carew MSS. 1601 and *Hibernia Pacata*, p. 25.
[2] *Esto nihil agat.*

and took away some earth from the grave, which he found to have miraculous effects. From Ireland he went to Scotland and converted his nephew the Earl of Huntley, the Earl of Errol, and others."[1]

On the 6th of May, 1600, MacCarthy Môr, from the Tower, writes to his "approved friend Sir Ro. Cecil: O'Conor, a great commander of Connaught buonies, came with six or seven hundred footmen into the edge of my country of Carberry, and sent unto me either to come and speak with him, or else that he would come into the county to speak with me. This moved me to ride unto him, from whom I could hardly escape by swearing that I would follow him to the Earl of Tireowen. Before I came to Tireowen I had his protection, and got himself and all the captains and gentlemen with him sworn to send me, and such as came with me, safe back again, which protection I do send here enclosed. Both he and the Earl of Desmond and Bishop McCragh and Archer were all very earnestly in hand with me to enter into their action of rebellion."[2] The Lord Treasurer Buckhurst is informed that a Mr. Ratcler had long served the Queen in France and the Low Countries, and had been Major General in Ireland, but, being absolved from his loyalty in 1600 by Archer the Jesuit, he revolted to Tirone, whom he calls the Prince, and is a wicked rebel in Ireland. In 1600 Captain Hugh Mostian, who from the age of twelve had served Elizabeth in France, Flanders, and Ireland, fell in with Father Archer, and was by him induced to side with

[1] See *Hibernia Ignatiana*, pp. 53, 54.
[2] *Life of MacCarthy Môr*, p. 274.

Prince O'Neill and the Irish Catholics. In 1602 he reports to Father Bathe that "Archer by his sole authority as a private religious brought more comfort to the Irish than a great force of soldiers could do, and that the voice of the people gave him the title of Legate. At his nod the hearts of men are *united and held together* not only in the territory of Berehaven and all Munster, but in the greater part of the kingdom, such is the fondness of the Irish for priests who have talent and authority."[1] This Hugh Mostian is styled "a famous Archrebell" by Fynes Moryson.

We hear of Father Archer again in 1600 in a letter thus endorsed by Cecil, "Atkinson's letter, the priest y^t^ discovered Tychburn."[2] It reads thus:

To the Right Honorable Sir Robert Cicill,—Sithence I have framed the premises of a loyal mind I mean unfeignedly *in verbo sacerdotis* to make a perfect period. . . . I have bereaved myself of a million of friends in regard of the service I performed, being odible to all Catholics of whom before I received very large maintenance. . . . I thought good to present unto your honour some platform which I planted, viz., how that I have obtained divers letters for Ireland from Mr. Blackwell and another from Father Walle, *alias* Garnett, . . . for I have made them for to believe how I intend for to be a religious man and of the order of St. Francis, and, in regard I am of good acquaintance in Ireland, I make choice to be under Bishop Macraith. By the which letters, Right Honourable, I assure myself, so that there be very great secrecy used, for to *perform shortly service worthy of a good reward, for it is most easy for to poison*

[1] *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 87, and Sidley's Letter to Buckhurst. Venice, August 31, 1602.

[2] This fallen priest saw Father Tichburne and cried out, "A priest! a priest! stop the priest!" Tichburne said to him, "I'm no more a priest than you are," but he was seized and hanged at Tyburn, April 20, 1601.

Tirone through some poisoned hosts. I make no doubt at all, *as I shall be saved*, but to abbreviate the traitor's days by that or other means, for the Bishop being a Franciscan friar who is almost daily with Tirone, and Father Nangle and Father Archer are his ghostly Fathers, unto whom I have letters in my behalf, and, being very well acquainted with them both, I shall without difficulty perform my desire. . . .

Your Honnour's continual orator,
WYLLIAM AKINSONNE, pr(iest).[1]

On the 2nd of January, 1600, Sir John Dowdal[2] informs Cecil that "a rebellion was plotted at Lifford, the Holy Cross, and such-like superstitious places by McCrath, Father Archer, and others. They were assisted generally by the townsmen and the nobility and gentry of both kinds." Uaithne Mac-Ruaidhri O'More, with five hundred men killed five hundred of Essex's rear-guard at Bearna-na-g-Cleithe in Leix; most probably Archer was with him at that time, as he was very much with him and is called chaplain of this Prince of Leix. In the *History of British Costume* (the Library of Entertaining Knowledge),[3] there is an engraving, "the rude but faithful delineation of O'More, a turbulent Irish chieftain, and of *Archer, a Jesuit retained* by him, both copied from a map of the taking of the Earl of Ormonde. O'More is dressed in the barrad or Irish conical cap and a scarlet mantle, Archer has a long black mantle and the high crowned hat of the times. Both appear in the straight truis." The original rough coloured sketch is in Trinity College with

[1] *Life of MacCarthy Mór*, p. 304.
[2] This bigot is mentioned in Father Holywood's treatise, *De Morte Persecutorum*.
[3] P. 371.

manuscript corrections by the hand of the Lord President of Munster, as Mr. Gilbert states in his *National Manuscripts*, in which he gives a fac-simile. A sketch corrected according to the remarks of the President appears in the *Hibernia Pacata*, where the meeting is thus described, "On the 10th of April, 1600, we, the Earls of Ormond, Thomond, and Carew, reached Coronneduffe (now Corndough, near Ballyragget). Owny MacRory came with a troop of choice pikes leaving in a little plain in our sight all his grosse in number five hundred foot and twenty horse, whereof three hundred were bonoughes, the best furnished men for the war, and the best appointed that we have seen in this kingdom. At our first meeting, and so during the parley which was appointed for some good causes best known to his lordship, they stood as they might, every one trailing his pike and holding the cheek thereof in his hand ready to push. After an hour or more was idly spent and nothing concluded we and others did pray his lordship to depart; but *he desirous to see that infamous Jesuit Archer*, did cause him to be sent for. As soon as he came the Earl and he fell into an argument, wherein he called Archer traitor and reproved him for sending, under pretext of religion, Her Majesty's subjects into rebellion. In this meantime the grosse of the rebels had left their standing in the plain, and some crept into the shrubs which were near, and others did so mingle themselves among us, that we stood as if we had been in a fair, whereof divers did advertize his lordship. I, the Earl of Thomond, willed Owny to put back

his men, and I, the President, desired his lordship to be gone. As his lordship was turning his horse they seized upon him and us two, but thanks be to God we escaped, save that I, the Earl of Thomond, received with a pike a wound in the back (two inches deep). The Earl's horsemen which were armed, were far from us; we called for the trumpet and cried upon the Earl's men to charge, but none stood by us. This treachery was contrived by that villain Archer, and none was made acquainted with it but Owny MacRory, two Leinster men and four bonnaghes, as they report, and, next unto God, I must thank the Earl of Thomond for my escape, who thrust his horse on O'More, and at my back a rebel newly protected, Brien MacDonagh Kevenaghe, being afoot, did me good service and wounded one of the traitors."

In the Castle of Gortnacleagh, where Ormond was kept prisoner by O'More, Archer was Ormond's "bedfellow" and secretary, and he tried to convert him. On the 26th of June, 1600, Ormond says that he can write with more freedom as Archer was away. After his release he wrote to the Queen: "I was detained so long in prison by the persuasion of Archer the Jesuit."[1]

Ormond writes: "From the woods, the 30th of April, 1600. I have been solicited to entreat your lordships to send good security and safe conduct, under your lordships' hands, for James Archer and Robert Lalor, priests, with other three or four as shall accompany them in their journey, that they may freely lay down before your lordships such

[1] From *Kilk. Archæological Journal*, years 1860 and 1861. Those documents are in Kilkenny Castle, in the Evidence Chamber.

things as they in the name of their confederates may demand for pacifying (as they say) of these garboyles and troubles; and that during that time they shall not only safely pass and repass, but also use their function without molestation or trouble."[1]

No doubt, the Lords of the Council gave the good security and safe conduct to pass to and fro, and Archer was able to see his Superior, De la Field, in or near Dublin, for the first time. According to Jouvancy,[2] he was called to Rome by order of the Sovereign Pontiff, who, when he heard from him of the constancy of the Catholics, was overjoyed, and appointed Father Manzoni as Nuncio to Ireland.

So, on the 20th of July, 1600, De la Field, a Jesuit of the Pale, sends Archer with a letter to Father General, and says that he can give him the fullest information about Ireland; that he afforded the greatest light and help in all matters, having always dwelt among the Irish lords who uphold the Catholic religion; and hence he is hated by the State and by the army of the Queen, and he is very necessary here for the support of religion in these calamitous times. He sends him to Rome, as he knows from a letter written to Father Holywood that the General wished him to be sent at once, and as no one could give a better account of the affairs of Ireland. But he begs that he be sent back as soon as possible, and with one or two companions, in order to instruct and keep from various excesses those who are now fighting for the faith. De la Field recommends to

[1] Gilbert's *Fac-similes of National MSS.* iv.
[2] *Hist. Soc. Jesu.*

the General Archer's companion, the Rev. Robert Lalour, a pious and very influential priest. On the back of this letter the General wrote: "We have sent Archer to the Spanish Seminaries; he will be sent to Ireland from that country."

Ormond was released by O'More in the month of June, on receiving hostages for the payment of £3,000, which would be the equivalent of about £25,000 of our present money. But his captivity and conversation with his "bedfellow," Archer, brought about his conversion to the faith.

The tenth Earl of Ormond had been the playmate of Edward the Sixth, the favourite of Elizabeth, and the pillar of her power in Ireland. He tried to expiate his sins and scandals by a true conversion, and gave great edification for several years. He was blind towards the end of his life, and regretted that two things specially damned his memory and well-nigh his soul: (1) that his youth ruined his fatherland, and that his old age was not able to defend her religion and liberty even against the King; (2) that his soul was tortured, as he had destroyed the most noble Geraldine of Desmond, the bitter enemy of the common enemy, the bulwark of the liberty of their country, and support of the Catholic faith.[1]

The following references concern his conversion. Father Holywood, under the name of *Jo. Bus*, writes on the 29th of January, 1605: "Walter (Walle, S.J.) and his uncle (Father O'Kearney) have been for the last two months staying with a certain sick man (Ormond), whose conversion will redound to the great good of the Church. We

[1] Dominic de Rosario, De Burgo, Haverty.

hear that all is settled, and that he, as was quite necessary, has given the greatest proofs of a true conversion; and that in consequence the Lord Chancellor is quite annoyed, and is incensed against the sons of Bertram (the Jesuits)." On the 28th of April, Father O'Kearney says: "My companion (Walle) is now engaged in a business that brings joy to all Ireland. Both of us had been told off for that work, but now one is enough, as all obstacles have been broken down through the help of God." On the 16th of June, Holywood writes: "I have left Walter with the dying Earl, whom he gained to God some months ago." Archbishop O'Kearney, uncle of Walter Walle, says, on the 4th of October: "We have read and with our hands touched the King's Proclamation, which was forwarded to Viscount Theobald Butler, heir to the Earl of Ormond. As the Earl is old and infirm, he was spared the trouble, and the Viscount is promulgating it, but as yet no Catholic yields to it. We beg you will endeavour, through the Holy Father and the Catholic King, to obtain for us leave to feed our flock." In May, 1606, Davis, the Attorney General, writes: "Clonmel, being the Liberty (of the Earl of Ormond), is more haunted of Jesuits and priests than any other town or city of Munster, which is the cause we found the burgesses more obstinate." On the 29th of June, 1606, "Jo. Bus" writes for more Fathers "of strong constitutions, and able to bear great hardship. Father Walle is a man of that stamp, but his presence is necessary to a certain leading man (*principi cuidam viro*). He cannot come to me on account of a business of the greatest moment in

which he is engaged at present." In 1606 the chief magistrate of Cashel was imprisoned, and the President of Munster swore he would show him no mercy, and would destroy the town unless he went to church; he afterwards offered him liberty if he promised not to speak to a Jesuit nor to hear Mass. The prisoner rejected these conditions. He was ultimately freed through the influence of the illustrious Countess of Ormond.[1]

In 1611 (November 20) Ormond builds an almshouse in Kilkenny for the sustentation of the poor.[2] On the 29th of August, 1613, King James the First writes to Ormond, and expresses the great regret with which he has learned his lordship's displeasure with the Viscount and the severe measures he had taken, and which he further contemplates taking, to his prejudice. He makes a request that for his (the King's) sake he will be reconciled to his son. The King writes to the Viscount, praising his faithful services and *perseverance in the profession of the established religion.* He has heard that, through the malignity of some evil-disposed Ministers about the Earl of Ormond, his lordship has received some hard measures in the Earl's house.

December 17, 1614, Sir Oliver St. John says, my Lord of Ormond will be at the next Parliament, a man highly valued by those people (the recusants). This was, I think, Earl "Walter of the Rosaries," successor of the Black Earl. Such was the end of that extraordinary man, who wrought the ruin

[1] *Life and Letters of H. Fitzsimon, S.J.* (115, 120, 121, 123, 135, 141, 142, 155.)
[2] Calendar of State Papers, *Ireland*, p. 170.

of the Earls of Desmond and had inflicted such injury on the Catholic Church. So too died in the Catholic faith O'Brien, Earl of Inchiquin, who a few years later fought against his country and persecuted her Catholic people. Father O'Kearney, S.J., who, with his nephew Father Walle, had converted the old Earl, wrote thirty Latin discourses on the death of this Earl of Ormond. Dr. O'Meara wrote a Latin poem on him, and another poet wrote an Irish ode on him, which, as translated by Clarence Mangan, begins thus:

> Strike the loud lyre for Dark Thomas, *the Roman—*
> *Roman in faith* and Hibernian in soul!
> Him who, the idol of warrior and woman,
> Never feared peril and never knew dole. . . .
> Him the great Henry gave rubies and rings to. . . .

Passing from Ormond to his "enemy" O'More, the friend of Archer: a month or so after Ormond's liberation by O'More, and some days after Archer's departure for Rome, Mountjoy paid a visit to O'More's territory of Leix, and in a despatch in the month of August he tells of his high deeds in that region. "Our captains, and by their example (for it was otherwise painful) the common soldiers, did cut down with their swords all the rebels' corn, to the value of £10,000 and upward, *the only mean by which they were to live*, and to keep their bonnaghts, or hired soldiers. It seems incredible that by so barbarous inhabitants, the ground should be so manured, the fields so orderly fenced, the towns so frequently inhabited, the highways and paths so well beaten, as the Lord Deputy here found them. *The reason was*, that the Queen's

forces, during these wars, never till then came among them."

On August 13, 1600, O'More addressed an indignant and eloquent letter to Lord Ormond, protesting that he is outraged at the abominable new device of the Lord Deputy, to cut down the green corn wherever he goes—an execrable course, and bad example to all the world. For himself, he declares that he has been taught bad lessons by the English before; and that, as they do not mean to give over schooling him in bad actions, which he protests he loathes, yet, having little to lose, if this be lost, he shall give over tillage, and take to living on the tilling of others, neither sparing friend nor foe. However, he hopes that such cruel dealings may be stopped, and requests the Earl to mediate for him, and to obtain for him a Government protection.

On such methods of conciliating and civilizing the "wilde Irishe," the poet and historian, Thomas Moore, makes these reflections: "To administer laws justly that are in themselves wrong and unjust is of course a hopeless endeavour. Power founded only on force—*and such alone did the English exercise in Ireland*—could only by force be maintained, and in the hands of a soldier like Mountjoy this mode of governing was actively administered. But that mild and thoughtful humanity that should ever temper the soldier's fire was in him lamentably wanting, and the cruelties which he allowed to be perpetrated on the wretched people of Leix have entailed everlasting disgrace on his name. The numerous sept which occupied the district now called the Queen's county, though

inhumanly visited in the reign of Mary by the two instruments of English vengeance,[1] confiscation and the sword, had so far retrieved their ruined condition as to have become once more tranquil and thriving. The English eye-witness accounts for this prosperous change by adding *that years had elapsed since the Queen's troops had been among them.* But the late violent act of the young chieftain O'More—encouraged secretly, it was surmised, by Ormond himself—lent a pretext for new inroads on that harassed people, and they were again subjected to one of those visitations of cruelty which left nothing to mark their course but desolation and silence."

Ormond was held captive from the 10th of April to the 12th of June; on the 30th he wrote to procure a safe conduct for Fathers Archer and Lalor, to pass and repass, and they in consequence had interviews with De la Field, the Jesuit Superior, who, on the 20th of July, sends them with a letter to Father Aquaviva, in which he praises both of them very much; and it is significant that he, being a gentleman of the Pale, with sympathies in favour of the English connection, does not blame Archer for the capture of Ormond. The two priests went to Rome in July, and Archer is next heard of from English spies. In the Salisbury Papers of 1601, there are "advertisements referring to Jesuits captured on their way to Ireland, and informations about Archer, and the names and practices of Catholics in Ireland. About the same time the President of Munster is happy to inform Cecil that he is "promised for

[1] He means Government; but he is fond of *euphemisms.*

one hundred pounds to get Bishop Craghe," the friend of Father Archer. On the 24th of September the Privy Council is told by Christopher Galway that Archer, the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin, and Captains Darby and Cormac MacCarthy, are on board the Spanish ships. These ships sailed from Corunna for Ireland. The commander, Don Juan Del Aguila, selected as his chaplain Father Archer, who was "a very fervent and apostolic man."[1] On the 20th of September the Spaniards appeared at the mouth of Cork harbour, but the wind suddenly scanted, whereupon they tacked about and made for Kinsale, where they landed on the 23rd. On Sunday, the 15th of December, six Irish gentlemen, horsemen, went into Kinsale; they were ready to go out again, and Father Archer with them, to put out the country, if the Bishop will suffer them.[2]

From the examination of the martyr, Dominic O'Cullen, we learn that Archer "procured him as companion;" and, "being demanded when and where he first met with the Jesuit Archer, he said he met with him about the 1st of February last at the Castle of Gortnacloughy, near Castlehaven, and ever since, until the day of the Lord President's arrival with his forces at Dunboy, he hath remained as fellow with him; which said day Archer went from Dunboy and since he hath not seen him. Being asked what letters or messages he hath heard or known Archer to have sent to any men within this realm, noblemen or others, since their fellowship together, he says, soon after Easter last

[1] *Hombre de todas maneras fervoroso ed apostolico.* (Nieremberg.)
[2] Report of a deserter named James Grace.

a letter was brought to Archer which was written by Sir Charles Wilmote to me the President, and much condemned O'Sullevan More as the cause of his son's revolt; upon which Archer wrote that it was not safe for O'Sullevan More to live under the English Government. Being questioned with what letters or messages he hath known Archer to receive from any in this realm or forth of Spain, he doth say that he hath not known or heard."

Father Archer, while in Ireland, was worth a large body of soldiers on account of the respect in which he was held. So great was his influence that the hearts of men were united and held together at his will, not only in the territory of Berehaven and in the south, but in a great portion of the kingdom. In order to destroy this influence, the English, according to the customary wile of war, forged a letter in which Father Archer asked pardon of the Queen, and promised, under certain conditions, to preach against all her enemies. They presented this letter to Don Juan, asking him to show it to the King of Spain; but the fraud was detected, and the thing was not believed by the prudent.[1]

The Lord President of Munster writes to the Lord Deputy, May 13th: "If Archer have the art of conjuring, I think he hath not been idle; but ere long I hope to conjure him, for I am informed he protests to abide the siege in Dunboy Castle. The country of Beare is full of witches; between them and Archer I do believe the devil hath been raised to serve their turn." On the 28th of May he writes again to the Deputy: "Terrell and

[1] Letter of Father Bathe, in *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 87.

Bourke have twelve hundred buonies, and Archer prevails on them to remain, and every day devises letters and intelligences out of Spain, assuring them of succour, and once a week confirms new leagues and seals them with the Sacrament."

On Sunday, the 6th of June, the whole English army landed near Dunboy, nevertheless the Irish came on bravely, but our falcons made them halt. . . . There were only two prisoners taken, whereof a servant of James Archer, the Jesuit, was one, and with him his master's sword and portace; and if the Jesuit himself had not been a light-footed priest he had fallen into our hands, and yet, nimble as he was, he escaped with difficulty. On the 7th of July,[1] there sailed from Ardea, with Conor O'Driscol and Archer, Shane MacDermody Vic Donagh Oge O'Cullaine, Archer's boy, and David Mac Shane Rice, servant to Archer, and twenty-seven more Irishmen. And on the 11th of August the Lord President writes to the Privy Council that Archer the Jesuit is gone to Spain as an Agent-General for the rebels of Munster, . . . and for the hastening of the army and to draw it to Cork. In the same month MacCarthy Môr writes from the *Tower* "to his very approved friend, Sir Rob. Cecill:" "The importantest place in Ireland, where the Spaniards could neither be besieged nor beaten out of it, is the city of Limerick, where Father Archer was in the last rebellion, and had taught him by some in that city a sure and secret way to surprise the Castle of Limerick, that commands the north gate of the inner and

[1] See about the siege of Dunboy in the sketch of Dominic O'Cullen.

stronger part of that city, by which one may bring as many as he will into the city, which way I have acquainted her Lieutenant withal; which I was very glad to remember for Her Majesty's sake, because Father Archer being now in Spain, it will be the first thing that he will propound and his chiefest motive to bring them."[1]

The Lord President writes, Oct. 25: "O'Donnell died about the 10th of last month, as a Cork merchant informs me, who saw a letter from Thomas White, Rector of Salamanca, born at Clonmel, to the Rector of St. Patrick's College, Lisbon, giving that information. Archer books against Don Juan, and Don Juan against him, and Archer told the merchant that he was weary of his life and would retire to a cloister, not purposing to come any more to Court except the King did send for him." November 20, Carew writes to the Lord Deputy: "A merchant reports O'Donnell to be certainly dead; and also since that time Archer is deceased." To this the Lord Deputy answers: "I would Tirone were with O'Donnell and Archer." This charitable remark proves that Mountjoy and Carew would have shown no mercy to Archer if he had fallen into their hands. And the reader may see in Major O'Reilly's *Martyrs and Confessors of Ireland* the numbers of priests tortured, hanged, shot, and drowned while Archer was in Ireland. At the time he escaped from Ardea, it was intimated that the priests who presented themselves to the magistrates would be allowed to depart the kingdom. Two Dominicans and forty Cistercians and

[1] *Life of MacCarthy Mór*, p. 361.

secular priests accepted the Government proposal, and were taken on board a vessel of war to sail for France, but when out at sea they were all thrown overboard. The captain and crew were imprisoned for the sake of appearance, but were afterwards rewarded. For a similar act of atrocity another English captain received the thanks of Parliament in 1644.[1] Father Archer's escapes were so extraordinary, that they were attributed by the Lord President of Munster to witchcraft and the devil; but it was due to Irish faith and honour. While he was in the neighbourhood of Berehaven, the English attacked the Castle of Cloghan, which is in the same region, "*understanding that in the castle was a Romish priest.* As the ward refused to yield, the English commander told them he would hang the brother of their Constable in their sight if they did not presently surrender. They said the Constable was gone abroad, which was not true. In conclusion, to save the priest, *whose life they tendered*, they persevered obstinately not to yield; whereupon Captain Flower in their sight hanged the Constable's brother, Donnell Dorrogh. Nevertheless, within four days afterwards *the priest being shifted away in safety*, the Constable sued for a protection and rendered the castle. I do relate this accident, says Carew or his secretary, to the end the reader may more clearly see *in what reverence and estimation these ignorant and superstitious Irish do hold a Popish priest, in regard of whose safety the Constable was content to suffer his brother to perish.*"[2]

[1] O'Reilly's *Martyrs*, p. 144.
[2] *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 646.

In 1603, Archer was in Rome and about to go to Spain, and his friend, Father Lawlor, a priest much trusted in Ireland, was about to return home. The General is recommended to send a letter by Lawlor to Father De la Field, ordering him to send Father Fitzsimon to Flanders or Spain as soon as he is released from prison.

Father General Aquaviva evidently did not believe the evil reports about Father Archer, which the agents of Mountjoy, Carew, and Cecil spread concerning him, and managed to convey to Rome even by some of his own brethren in religion. If Archer had not been cleared of those imputations, he would not have been at once placed in such a position of power and trust as that of Superior of all the Irish Jesuit Colleges in the Peninsula. On the 25th of February, 1603, his Superior in Dublin writes to Aquaviva: "Father Archer acted twice or three times as intermediary between the Spaniards and Irish, but did not communicate his designs to us; we who live among the more cultivated subjects of the Queen, seeking the salvation of souls, dare not communicate with her enemies lest we should bring suspicion on those among whom we like, and lest our name, which is already hateful enough to the enemies of the Cross of Christ, should be execrated, even by good men, if it were tainted with the stain of rebellion."

Wise of Waterford on the 30th of March, 1603, says he saw Father Archer at the Spanish Court well regarded, and that Archer was called in question for two letters which taxed him with treachery, but he proved the letters to be counter-

feit.[1] On the 4th of August, Gerald Comerford wrote to the Lord Deputy, that he had received a letter touching the coming of the traitor Archer to England. "It would be well if he, Sir George Carew, were to give notice of it in England; for the Bishop of Ossory hath heard thereof. Had heard himself that he was employed abroad, and Richard Phelan affirmed to the Bishop that he is in England. His brother, Robert Archer, is gone over to England to meet him. Archer is the traitor, is black of complexion, his hair spotted gray, his apparel commonly a white doublet, and the rest of some colour to disguise himself. Carey informs Cecil of this. Sir Geffrey Fenton believes that, if some of the Irish were called to the question for Archer, some light might be obtained from them for his apprehension; he gives Cecil his humble opinion how Archer might be laid for amongst the Irishmen about the Court; thinks the agents of Waterford, Cork, and Kinsale, and particularly the Mayor of Cork, are the men this Jesuit will soonest seek unto, for his former inwardness with them both at the siege of Kinsale, and in working the Earl of Tirone to draw to Munster to join with the Spaniards; and especially he will use all the art he can to have intelligences of Florence M'Carthy, who was the principal plotter with Archer to draw them into Ireland. About two years past and more, Archer being employed out of Spain to labour in Ireland, passed under the name of Bowman, till at length he was discovered in Wexford, and was very near being

[1] Those are the letters forged by the English which we have mentioned already.

taken by a draught laid by the Lord Lieutenant, but unhappily escaped. The Lord Lieutenant may remember that he called some of the gentlemen of that county to account for that matter. Perhaps he will not disguise his name, thinking to walk more securely than he did in Ireland. To have him taken were a great service to both the realms, he being a capital instrument for Spain and the *poison of Ireland.* To the Rt. Hon. the Lord Cecyll, etc. Haste, haste."

On the 8th of September, John Bird writes to the Earl of Devonshire: "As soon as I shall receive a warrant for the apprehension of the Jesuit named by Robert Atkinson in the enclosed paper, namely, Archer, the Pope's Legate for Leinster, the Earl's confessor, as he was to the Archdukes of Austria, he will endeavour to effect what may be required of him. By *Collections of informations in former times*, I find that Archer had great corresponding with the Lord Baron of Upper Ossory and his sons, and that his house was his ordinary retiring-place from the O'Mores and Dempsies, and many others of the best men of account throughout the Pale and the Corporations; that he exacted from them what sums of money he chose, and yearly received great contributions from the principal recusants in *England* (!) for upholding the rebels, whom he called 'God's men.' Some of those five Irish knights and gentlemen, who are in the Tower, are not free from this unsoundness, besides officers of ports and men of account in England. It is not to be doubted since Archer's attendance on the Earl of Tirone, his lordship and the rest of his favourites, as well now in the Tower as at

liberty, made liberal use of his function for Masses and reconcilements to the Church of Rome, and not a few of the English inhabiters here. If he, Archer, had received his *deserts at his last commitment to the gaol-house in Westminster*,[1] then he had been prevented of his accursed voyage to Rome thirteen years past, from whence he was employed for the Pope's sublegate, and stirred up the rebellion which held for thirteen years with the expense of £100,000 and loss of many thousand subjects. All this may be regained, if he may be fortunately taken and be made to lay open all his pedlar's pack and associates for these employments. Thus might be discovered the correspondence that he and his faction hold with the Ambassadors of Spain and France."

John Byrd encloses this letter of Robert Atkinson, gentleman: "At His Majesty's last being at Hampton, I saw Archer alight from his horse at the Earl of Tirone's lodging at Kingston. Archer often frequented there, as he had formerly done at the Earl's being lodged at Chester. He would sometimes follow the Earl to Court, and join him in keeping company with those Irish knights and gentlemen which are in the Tower, and Sir Edward Fitzgerald and others of that nation, sometimes in the apparel of a courtier and other times like a farmer. Him he well knew in Ireland. There he saw him as chief commander over the Irish troops, horse and foot, commanding for his own guard as many as he pleased, and for any bloody actions to be done upon the English nation. He was commonly called the Pope's Legate, and

[1] Perhaps he was trapped and imprisoned in 1577.

Archprelate over all others in the province of Leinster and Munster, and also the O'Neills; by others he was called Tirone's confessor, as he had been the Archduke's confessor of Austria, and in England is said to be the Earl's massing priest, and for others, the knights and Irish gentlemen, and however near unto the King's Court they may happen to be lodged. By this Archer the Earl of Ormond was taken prisoner in a day of parlaunce, notwithstanding he was born an obliged follower of the Earl in Kilkenny, yet he practised much cruelty against him, and sought his death. Of all the priests that ever were he is held for the most bloody and treacherous traitor, sure unto none in friendship that will not put his decrees in action by warrant of his Apostolic authority, as he calleth it, from time to time renewed by Bulls from Rome. He is grown to be so absolute that he holds the greatest lords in such awe that none dare gainsay him. At Tirone's return to Ireland it is verily believed that he will and can divert him and all the rest into rebellion again, as formerly he and Dr. Creagh did, not only Tirone, but also Viscount Mountgarret and Viscount Roche and many thousands. Archer is in stature somewhat tall, black, and in visage somewhat thin."

These reports refer to O'Neill's visit to London. He had surrendered on the 31st of March, received full pardon, the title of Earl of Tirone, the free exercise of religion, and a re-grant of all their lands for himself and all his followers. Thus ended a war of ten years, which cost England £3,400,000, and in one year, 1599, cost £600,000, when the whole revenue of England was only £450,000.

O'Neill went to do homage to James the First, but most assuredly Archer was either in Rome or Spain at that time, and the informers concocted their stories in order to injure O'Neill and the Irish gentlemen who were then in London. However, he was reported before April, 1604, as endeavouring to get permission to return to the Irish Mission; but Holywood and the Fathers in Ireland thought it would not be expedient for himself or them, though his presence would be otherwise most agreeable to them. Hence they judged that he should wait till better times.[1]

On the 6th of May, Father Aquaviva appointed Archer "Prefect of the Mission" in the Irish Colleges of the Peninsula, drew up rules for his guidance, and made him in that office independent of the Spanish and Portuguese Provincials. This great General took a paternal interest in the Irish Colleges during his life, and showed his appreciation of Irish character by signifying to many Provincials that he "by all means desires Irish candidates to be admitted by them, since they seem to be made for our Institute by their *humility, obedience, charity, and fame for learning, in which, according to the testimony of all places, they very much excel.*"[2] In 1605 Archer brought eleven students from Valladolid to Salamanca. On the 5th of September a Waterford *confrère* of his, named Maurice Wise, who had been got at by English agents, writes to the General: "Father Archer should never be permitted to return to

[1] *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 129.
[2] Feast of St. Patrick, 1604. *Hibernia Ignatiana*, v. *Life and Letters of Henry Fitzsimon*, p. 82.

Ireland, because he mixed himself up with the *faction* that opposed the Prince, and by so doing made us all be called seditious men. His sister came and implored of me to hinder his coming as much as I could, as she feared his arrival would bring persecution on us. I happen to know something about him, for he dealt with those who were in authority in this city, and are so still, and they greatly complain of his mixing himself up with the affairs of the *faction* that was against the King.[1] A man of much importance, *who has many relations with the Viceroy*, complained to me of Archer's connection with that faction opposed to the King, and he said we were men who meddled too much in State matters; but I showed him in writing an express command that we had to the contrary, and said he should not condemn all for the fault of one." Father Holywood never says anything of this kind, and he even hints at Father Wise's want of prudence, and at the want of honesty in Wise's cousin, Robert Lombard, the spy in Rome. He says: "We have here two men who were educated in Rome; I wish they were in some place where they could do no harm. I do not doubt that there are those in Rome who could circumvent the most cautious, if not by themselves, *at least through those whom you do not suspect.*"[2]

On the 26th of February, 1606, Archer writes from Compostella to Father General: "After our long contest with the Friar Florence Conry, I

[1] Wise knew nothing of Archer's doings, being away at the Roman College, and it is notorious that Archer had nothing to say to the King (*il principe*, *il Re*). He is here a tool in the hands of the enemies of Father Archer.

[2] *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 210.

brought the students from Valladolid to Salamanca, by the authority of the King and his Capellano Mayor. I left all the matters of the Seminary quite settled, as I thought, and went to coasts of Galicia to collect money from the Bishops and from my countrymen, and to find out a secure way of knowing the real state of Ireland, with a view to send you authentic information. In my absence Friar Florence managed to get leave to have a College founded by the King, and our Spanish Fathers neglected to oppose that, as if your Paternity had not recommended the matter to them. I beg your Paternity to write to the Spanish Provincial to have some care of our concerns, or order me to give up all responsibility for the Seminary. I have got a letter from Father Walle in Ireland for your Paternity, from which may be understood what difficulties beset our Fathers on account of the new and dreadful proclamation of the King of England. They proceed cautiously, though they omit nothing that concerns our Institute and the salvation of souls. By God's help I have converted in Galicia three Protestant merchants."[1]

About the year 1606 he got the Holy Father to give leave to the fishermen of Spain and Portugal to fish on six Sundays or festivals every year, and to sell the fish thus taken for the support of the Irish Colleges of Salamanca and Lisbon. In 1606 Father Holywood complains to the General that Archer retains Father Bathe at Salamanca, though his coming to Ireland had been sanctioned by the General. In August, 1607, Archer writes to the

[1] *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 179.

Assistant of Germany at Rome about the Irish Colleges and the Irish Mission. It would appear that the Portuguese and Belgian Jesuits had written to the General to protest against Archer's control over the Irishmen in their provinces, as they had some exceedingly talented and promising Irish Jesuits, such as the Whites, Walshes, and Waddings, whom they desired to utilize on the Continent, and whom Archer might wish to send to serve in Ireland. Hence he says: "The devil, seeing our countrymen trooping over to their studies, endeavours to hinder it in every possible way, producing division, as in the past, when we should have resisted manfully, preserved union and due subordination, and given greater facility for coming to the help of many. Here and in France a great opening is made for us, and if we do not take advantage of it, we shall do nothing heroic, and the affairs of our Seminaries will go to ruin. I am at present at the Court of Madrid."

On the 29th of September he writes to Rome. He wishes Richard Comofort to be ordained in Rome and sent to Ireland, and Ambrose Wading (elder brother of the famous Franciscan), Lee, and Lombard, to be sent to Germany. He had written to Primate Lombard to get an indulgence for "the congregation of the fishermen of St. Martin, who were to fish on certain Sundays for the support of the Irish Colleges in the Peninsula." The Primate had given a promise, but had not yet fulfilled it. He has always been of opinion that an Irish Jesuit noviceship should be founded in Belgium, wishes to God it were done, and that he or Father Thomas White were sent by Father General to do it, and

suggests how it could be done. He hears from Father Holywood that certain faculties are necessary for him; he knows they are necessary, and would have procured them for him, but had always thought that the Irish Superior had them. He has sent Fathers Everard and Shein to Ireland, and is asked by Holywood to send Fathers Nugent and Bathe, for whom a residence is ready in the north of Ireland. He has converted three Scots, one of whom was a stubborn Puritan, who often said that all the doctors in the world could not stir him from his opinions. This man from a lion has become a lamb, and has resolved to become a Capuchin. Archer has others on hand belonging to the household of the English Ambassador, and he hopes to convert them also.

By the same post Archer's companion, Father James Quemerford, writes an English letter from Madrid to his brother, Richard Quemerford, S.J., in Rome, and says: "I have heard nothing of late of our friends, nor yet, to tell you the truth, have ever received letters from Ireland; belike they have forgotten me as much as I should forget them. Father Thomas Sheine and Father James Everarde are gone for Ireland. Father Richard Walshe hath ended his studies, and is gone to his third probation; it is likely he shall begin the next year a course of Philosophy in the Seminary of Salamanca, if the Spaniards prevail not that procure to have him for themselves. The English of Valladolid have sought him, and many others cast eye upon him; I hope such as need him most, and unto whom he may do greater good, shall have him. He was liken to go with Father Padilla to

Rome, and he was appointed for it, but the Spaniards, fearing our Father General, if he did once see him, would not suffer him to come back to Spain, staid him. Brother Murtie was all these months sick with fevers; he is now well, and likely to prove a miracle in the matter of learning. He joineth with great capacity and wit very great diligence, and hath notable good utterance and grace in setting forth. . . . Here I am yet in Court with Father Archer, with matter of the Seminary; we have many suits in hand, and go very slow in all. Commendations to all, and chiefly to my good and well-remembered brother, Father Thomas Quemerford. Father Duras wrote that the physicians decreed that you should be sent beyond the Alps or into your country. Father Archer arrangeth that you be made priest in God's name and sent into the country, that your friends will pay for all; and surely I would it were so, for the assurance of your health, the good and comfort of friends and many others, and chiefly for the conversion of J(ustice) Walshe, with whom I hope you may do great good. I have done somewhat in that matter, and do what I may in absence, and if I were there either he should die a Catholic[1] or I a martyr. God lighten him with his grace—*Jacentem in tenebris et in umbra mortis.* I am glad in heart that my brother Thomas Quemerford is well."

In 1609 Father Archer was still Prefect of the Mission in Spain, and is said to be sixty-four

[1] Chief Justice Walshe and his first cousin, Judge Comerford, were afterwards reconciled to the Church. (Rothe's *Analecta*, Edit. 1617.)

years old and thirty-six in the Society. Thomas Lawndrie (Father Holywood) refers to Archer in a letter "from his lodging" in 1611: "To the south of your country (Wexford), and about Bowmanstown (*i.e.*, Father Archer's town of Kilkenny), Mr. Barnaby is in charge. Mr. Wosell (*i.e.*, Archer) in his last named five ready for us."

In 1617 there were eighty-two Irish Jesuits, of whom thirty-eight in Ireland, eighteen in Spain, nine in Portugal, seven in Belgium, and ten in Mexico, Paraguay, Austria, Bavaria, Italy, and France. Father Archer was the oldest of all—sixty-eight years of age, and thirty-four in religion. As he heads the list in Spain, he was still the Prefect of all the Colleges.[1] He is not in the Catalogue of Irish Jesuits of 1626, so he must have died between 1617 and 1626, and a sketch of his career was then written which must be in the Jesuit Archives of Rome. That Archer was alive about that time appears from a paper among the Ussher MSS. of Trinity College of the date 1615—1620. It says that "there are three kinds of Irish in Ireland: (1) The ancient; (2) the mixed, who are descended of Irish mothers, and in language, habit, and custom do conform to the Irish, viz., the Earls of Kildare, Desmond, Clanrickard, Ormond, the Lords Barry, Roche, &c.; (3) the English-Irished, who hold not Irish customs or language, viz., the merchants and traders of towns and some knights and gentlemen of East Meath and about Dublin and in the Pale. We can find no place among the above classes for

[1] Catalogue of Patres et Fratres Hiberni, S.J., anno 1617. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. x. p. 527.)

Father James Archer, who, though altogether Englished, yet is he of the inclination and condition of the ancient Irish, whom he followed and aided in the last wars."

What that following and aiding meant is thus clearly expressed by an Irish Protestant, John Mitchell: "The matter, and perhaps the only matter, which disquiets and perplexes the mind of the 'Historian,' Mr. Froude, is the fact that, in the midst of all these horrors, Catholic priests were not only ministering all over the country, but coming in from France, and Spain, and Rome; not only supplying the vacuum made by transportation and by death, but keeping up steadily the needful communication between the Irish Church and its head; and not only coming but going (both times incurring the risk of capital punishment), and not in commodious steam-ships, which did not then exist, but in small fishing luggers or schooners; not as first-class passengers, but as men before the mast. Archbishops worked their passage. The whole of this strange phenomenon belongs to an order of facts which never entered into the 'Historian's' theory of human nature. It is a factor in the account that he can find no place for—he gives it up. Yet Edmund Spenser, long before this day, as good a Protestant as Froude, and an undertaker, too, upon Irish confiscated estates, who had at least somewhat of the poetic vision and the poetic soul, in certain moods of his undertaking mind could look upon such strange beings as these priests with a species of awe, if not with full comprehension. He much marvels at the zeal of these men, 'which is a greate

wonder to see how they spare not to come out of Spain, from Rome, and from Remes, by long toyle and dangerous travayling hither, where they know perill of death awayteth them and no reward or richesse.' Mr. Froude, indeed, speaks of them as engaged in nothing else but keeping up treasonable alliances with countries at war with England, and recruiting foreign armies. As for their expecting no 'reward or richesse' for such laborious service, he would bid you tell that to Judæus Apella, or to the horse marines!

"'Reward or richesse!' I know the spots, within my own part of Ireland, where venerable Archbishops hid themselves as it were in the hole of a rock. In a remote part of Louth county, near the base of the Fews Mountains, is a retired nook called Ballymacscanlon, where dwelt for years, in a farm-house which would attract no attention, the Primate of Ireland and successor of St. Patrick, Bernard M'Mahon, a prelate accomplished in all the learning of his time, and assiduous in the government of his archdiocese; but he moved with danger, if not with fear, and often encountered hardships in travelling by day and by night. . . . Imagine a priest ordained at Seville or Salamanca, a gentleman of high old name, a man of eloquence and genius, who has sustained disputations in the College halls on questions of literature or theology, imagine him on the quays of Brest, treating with the skipper of some vessel to let him work his passage.[1] He wears tarry breeches and a tarpaulin

[1] This is not a mere fancy of Mitchell's. Father Delamare, Irish Rector of Salamanca, writes: "Two of our priests will probably go from Bilbao in some Spanish or Irish vessel, or from some of the ports of France. Disguised as sailors, they may be

hat, for disguise was generally needful. He flings himself on board, takes his full part in all hard work, scarce feels the cold spray and the tempest. And he knows, too, that the end of it all for him may be a row of sugar-canes to hoe under the blazing sun of Barbadoes, overlooked by a broad-hatted agent of a Bristol planter; yet he goes eagerly to meet his fate, for he carries in his hand a sacred deposit, bears in heart a sacred message, and must deliver it or die. Imagine him then springing ashore and repairing to seek the Bishop of the diocese in some cave or behind some hedge, but proceeding with caution by reason of the priest-catchers and other wolf-dogs. But Froude would say, this is the ideal priest you have been pourtraying. No, it is the real priest, as he existed and acted at that day, and as he would again in the like emergency. And is there nothing admirable in all this? Is there nothing human and sublime? Ah! we Protestants are certainly most enlightened creatures. Mr. Froude says we are the salt of the earth. We stand, each of us, with triumphant conceit upon the sacred and inalienable rights of private stupidity, but I should like to see our excellent Protestantism produce fruit like this."

able to leave the ship and get into the country, which is the most usual. If they have money, they will be better able to induce the captain, with whom they shall sail, to favour their landing in that disguise."

XII.

FATHER WILLIAM BATHE.

In the autumn of the year 1605, while some disease was ravaging Dublin, the Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, went to spend a month at Howth Castle, the seat of a Catholic nobleman. One day the Lord Deputy and the Lord of Howth were hunting, and, says Father Holywood,[1] "they were led by the fox into the demesne (of Drumcondra),[2] of which Father Bathe was once the proprietor. The Catholic nobleman said, 'Alas! the owner of this and many other estates, having left everything for Christ's sake, is now living in foreign lands and in poverty. In your religion you could find no such example of abnegation.' The Lord Deputy remarked that Bathe was only one instance. Whereupon the Irish Baron mentioned three others, and amongst them the Reverend Father Peter Nangil of the Order of St. Francis. That kind of argument has great weight in this country, as I could prove by sundry examples." One of the cases mentioned by the Irish Baron was that of Holywood, the

[1] In "Ratio Negotiationis Factorum P.N., hoc anno 1605 in regno hoc." (Rom. Archiv. S.J. *Anglia MSS.* 1590—1615, p. 294.) Father John Morris and Brother Foley enabled me to examine these MSS. I beg here to thank them for that and for help and encouragement while I prosecuted my researches under difficulties.

[2] Or Balgriffin, for both belonged to Father Bathe.

reporter of the incident, whose Castle of Artane lay between Bathe's Castle and that of Howth. We mean to end the biographies of distinguished Irishmen in the sixteenth century by sketches of the two Jesuits spoken of at the fox-hunt in 1605.

In the sixteenth century two gentlemen of the English Pale, while persecution was raging round them and when their relatives and friends were urging them to get married in order to perpetuate ancient and honourable names, gave up their castles and lands to younger brothers and entered the Society of Jesus.[1] One was Christopher Holywood of Artane Castle, which has now developed into a flourishing industrial school under the direction of the Christian Brothers; the other was William Bathe, of Drumcondra Castle, the vaulted remnant of which forms a part of an extensive Blind Asylum under the Brothers of the Carmelite Order.

In the biographies of William Bathe there are sundry errors. By the Abbé Glaire, in his *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Sciences*, he is called "Guillaume Bathelier, Protestant"! In other books he is named Bates and Batty, and is wrongly said to have had Protestant parents, to have renounced heresy, been professor of languages at the University of Salamanca, and to have died when about to retreat to the Court of Spain. This last error is in the new *National Biography;*

[1] "Christophorus a Sacrobosco sive Holywood et Willelmus Bathe locupleta patrimonia (et sponsis sibi mox matrimonio jungendis), junioribus fratribus ultro cedentes Societati Jesu se aggregaverunt." (Lynch's *Alithinologiæ Suppl.* p. 189.)

the fact was, he died when about to give a retreat to the Court of Spain. Harris says:

"We have it from tradition that he was of a sullen, saturnine temper and disturbed in his mind on account of the decay of his family, which had fallen from its pristine rank by rebellions, extravagance, and other misfortunes."[1] On this charming passage put in to suggest that Bathe got crazed, and then of course became a Papist, Philip Bliss, editor of Wood's *Athenæ*, remarks: "This statement is given on the authority of a brother citizen, who had doubtless good grounds for the assertion. Otherwise Bathe's early habits and propensity to music in which he much delighted, seem to warrant a supposition that he was of a more lively habit. It appears, moreover, that in his later life he was beloved and respected by all orders for his singular virtues and excellences. Now a sullen, saturnine man is not generally an object of such universal esteem; nor does it seem probable that one of such a temper would be fixed on to transact public business for the benefit of his Society. On the whole I cannot but think that this censure of our author is built upon a very slender foundation; and I am the more ready to believe my supposition correct, since no authority whatever has been advanced in support of the censure." To these remarks of Bliss I may add, that he could not have been disturbed on account of the decay of his family which had fallen from its pristine rank by rebellions, for he was the head of that family and a special favourite of Queen Elizabeth.

[1] See Harris' Edit. of Ware's *Irish Writers*, and Harris' sketch of Bathe in Kippis' *Biographia Britannica*, i. p. 691.

The truth is that William Bathe was one of "the men of name in this county of Dublin," and that his Castle of Drumcondra was fourth on the list of the twenty-one "principal castles of this county."[1] In his day twelve of his namesakes and kinsmen in the counties of Dublin and Meath had castles or other mansions and broad lands, though all their families were soon after swept away, in the persecutions, invasions, and confiscations of the seventeenth century. The only extant monuments of their former glory, beneficence, or piety are an inscribed slab, a ruined castle, a ruin of a ruin, an old bridge, and two wayside crosses. Sixty-six years ago there stood at Drogheda a very beautiful house, made of Irish oak, a carved panel of which bore the arms of Bathe, and this inscription in letters six inches long: "Made bi Nicholas Bathe in yc ieare of our Lord God 1570 by Hiu Mor, carpentar." In the year 1824, this house was taken down by order of the corporation under suspicion of harbouring rats, reprobates, and typhus fever.

The bridge of Duleek was erected in 1587 by William Bathe and his wife Genet Dowdall, as appears from an inscribed tablet inserted in the battlement. In the village of Duleek a remarkable wayside cross bears the inscription: "This Cross was builded by Genet Dowdall, wife unto William Bathe of Ardcarne, Justice of Her Majesty's Court of Common Plees, for him and her, anno 1601. He deceased the 15th of Oct. 1599, is buried in

[1] *The Description of Ireland and the State thereof as it is at this present in anno 1598*, pp. 37, 38. Edited and annotated by E. Hogan.

the Church of Duleek, whose souls I pray God take to His mercie." On the other side of the cross are sculptured in relief figures of Saints Andrew, Catherine, Stephen, Patrick, Ciaran, Magdalene, Jacobus, and Thomas. The wayside cross of Ardcarne bears on the front of the pillar: "This Cross was builded by Genet Dowdall, late wife unto William Bathe of Athcarne, Justice, for him and her . . . Amen. I.H.S." On the back of the pillar we read: "Haile Marie full of grace, oure Lord is with thee, Haile sweet Virgin, the Blessed Mother of God, the excellent Queene of Heaven, praye for us poore soules. Amen." This Castle of Ardcarne was built in 1590, as appears from inscriptions over several of its doorways. It is still standing, and both it and the Castle of Drumcondra passed by confiscation into the hands of James, Duke of York, and afterwards into the hands of a woollen-draper of Dublin.

Father Bathe's Castle of Drumcondra has all disappeared except the lowest vaulted story, the walls of which are four or five feet thick. It is now the kitchen of the Blind Asylum, and in a wall of the passage to the kitchen an old slab has been securely fixed by the pious care of Brother Berchthold Fahy, Superior of the establishment. On this slab is a shield in which are a cross and four lions rampant for Bathe, and three crescents for Gormanston. The inscription in raised letters runs thus: "This House was builded by John Bathe, sonne to James Bathe, and by D. Elenor Preston his wife, daughter to Jenrico Preston, L. Vicecome of Gormanston. Anno Domini 1560."

These were William Bathe's father and mother

who built their house four years before their son and heir was born. Their castle did not remain even a hundred years in the hands of their posterity, and became successively the residence of Lord Chancellor Bowes, Lord Chancellor Lifford, the Protestant Primate Lord Rokeby, and others.

William Bathe's grandfather was Chief Baron of the Exchequer of Ireland under Henry VIII., Philip and Mary, Edward and Elizabeth, from 1541 to 1570, when Baron Cusack was recommended to succeed Chief Baron Bathe deceased, "as he is the only man of his profession that favours religion: all the lawyers are thwarters and hinderers of the Reformation."[1]

William's father, John Bathe, was Solicitor-General in 1572, Attorney-General in 1575; in 1584 (when his son William was at Oxford), he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and obtained a renewal from the Queen of certain leases formerly granted to his father. On the 18th of July, 1587, he died, as we learn from the *Inquisitionum Repertorium:* "John Bathe, late of Dromconraghe, Glasnevan and Clonmell, the Lord's Meadow in Glasnevan; and John died on the 18th July, in the 28th year of the late Queen. William Bathe was son and heir of said John and of full age when his father died."[2] No doubt he was "a hinderer and thwarter of the Reform," as were the other Irish lawyers of his time, and as he is said to have been by the earliest biographers of Father Bathe. He

[1] *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland,* years 1541, 1550, 1557, 1563, 1570.

[2] *Inquisitionum in officio Rotulor. Cancell. Hib.* Vol. i. Comit. Dublin, April 6, 1624.

was moreover a charitable man, and in 1580 he gave a plough-land in Chapelizod to support an hospital for four poor men at Balgriffin,[1] the manor, town, and lands of which belonged to him.

William Bathe was thus not a mere Dublin "citizen," he was the son and heir of a Chancellor of the Exchequer, grandson of a Chief Baron, first cousin of the Earl of Roscommon, nephew of the third Viscount Gormanston and Viscount Tara, grand-nephew of the ninth Earl of Kildare, and related to the Earls of Thomond, Tirconnell, Fingal, Ormond, Desmond, Roscommon, to Lords Slane, Delvin, Kingsland, and Netterville, and to the Irish chiefs O'Connor Failghe and O'Carroll of Ely, as well as to the Earl of Lincoln, and to Queen Elizabeth herself. This is clear from the pedigrees of Gormanston and Kildare, and it refutes the disparaging statement of Harris, and justifies certain expressions of Bathe's early Catholic biographers which otherwise would seem exaggerated. Bathe gives this account of himself in the novice-book of Tournay: "I, William Bathe, was born at Dublin on Easter Sunday, the 2nd of April, 1564; my father was John Bathe, a judge, my mother was Eleanor Preston. I have studied humanities in Ireland, philosophy at Oxford and Louvain, and theology at Louvain. I have been received into the Society at Courtray by Father Duras, Provincial of Belgium, and entered the Novitiate of Tournay the 6th of August, 1595."[2]

[1] D'Alton's *Hist. of Co. Dublin*, p. 250.

[2] Father Carlos Sommervogel, who sent me the extract from the *Liber Novitiorum*, gives August 6, 1595–6. Brother Foley has the date October 14, from Tournay Diary MS. Brussels P.R.O. n. 1,016, fol. 1,595.

According to his early biographers, some of whom knew him personally, he was born of Catholic parents, of a distinguished family, was reared by them on the pure milk of the Catholic faith, and was trained to every Christian virtue of that holy religion, in which he persevered to the end of his life.[1] By his pious parents he was confided in his early years to the care of an enlightened Catholic tutor, and was by him so solidly instructed in the principles of the faith, that, while he was at Oxford, all the pomp and circumstance of Protestantism only filled him with disgust, and made him, as he says himself, feel weary of the atmosphere of heresy which he breathed there.

As he grew in years at home, he showed great prudence, tact, and discretion, and won the hearts of all, even of those who differed from him in religion, by his genial manners and great personal gifts which adorned the nobility of his birth, and by his varied accomplishments which rendered him "the delight of all circles." He learned to play on all kinds of musical instruments, and even to make some of them, at least he had the skill to construct "a harp of a new device;" but we know not whether he developed its powers as much as did his friend, Robert Nugent, S.J. The Irish harp seems to have been a favourite instrument with him as with other Irish and Anglo-Irish lords and gentlemen, of whom the Irish Hudibras says:

[1] The Irish Jesuits of Salamanca in the Annual Letters of 1614, Paul Sherlock, S.J., Alegambe, Jouvancy, Tanner, Nieremberg, and Patrignani. In them we read such words as "Ilustres Caballeros, Senores de Drincondra y otras villas, catholicis ortus parentibus, catholica et lauta domo, puro catholicæ fidei lacte nutritus, catholicam fidem ab iis traditam," etc.

And there's old Tracy and old Darcy,
A playing all weathers on the clarsy,[1]
The Irish harp, whose rusty metal,
Sounds like the mending of a kettle.

The author of the Irish Hudibras, who had no great appreciation of harmony, differed from Father Bathe, Queen Elizabeth, and others, as to the merits of the Irish harp. He quite forgot that though "the harp that once through Tara's hall" might be rusty, the clarsy constantly played on could not possibly be so. But other writers blunder more strangely still when writing of men and things that they are anxious to discredit. Even Mr. Froude in his attempt to connect Esmonde with the massacre of Prosperous, which he did his best to prevent, says, "Esmonde went to his room washed and dressed, and powdered his hair, *like a dog after a midnight orgie among sheep.*"[2]

To return to William Bathe, he was, says Wood, "much delighted in the faculty of music." In his *Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song*, Bathe tells us what delight he found in it, and affords us some insight into his character. He writes thus at the age of nineteen or twenty: "Ignorance, as divines do testify, is one of the plagues put upon man, the creature, for transgressing the commandments of God his Creator, from which we are to come (as the patient from his disease) by degrees. Man's understanding is likened by Aristotle to the eyes of the owlet in the daylight. Solomon saith: *Dedi cor meum ut scirem prudentiam, scientiam, errores-que,*"[3] &c.

[1] Clâirseach, a harp.

[2] *The English in Ireland*, vol. iii.

[3] Eccles. i. 17.

"The fame of our ancestors that diligently laboured to bring us, and in many things brought us, from ignorance to knowledge, shall never be forgotten as long as those things wherein they laboured be in estimation; and, in mine opinion, so far forth, as we may, we should imitate the steps of them; for the plague of ignorance is so great, that neither did they, neither shall we, find so much but that we must leave sufficient for our posterity to be found. Wherefore seeing sufficiently others to labour and travail in other sciences, I thought good to bestow my labour on music, seeing that pains might so much prevail, as by the fruit of my labour may plainly appear. I took the matter in hand upon this occasion, though it were far distant from my profession, being desired by a gentleman to instruct him in song. I gave him such rules as my master gave me; yet could I give him no song so plain, wherein there chanced not some one thing or other to which none of those rules could directly lead him. . . . In a month, or less, I instructed a child about the age of eight years to sing a good number of songs, difficult, crabbed songs to sing at the first sight, to be so indifferent for all parts, alterations, cleves, flats, and sharps, that he would sing a part of that kind of which he had never learnt any song; which child for strangeness was brought before the Lord Deputy of Ireland to be heard sing, for there was none of his age, though he were longer at it, nor any of his time, though he were elder, known before these rules to sing exactly. There was another, who had before often handled instruments, but never practised to sing (for he could not name

one note), who, hearing of these rules, obtained in a short time such profit by them that he could sing a difficult song of himself without any instruction. There was another, who by dodging at it, hearkening to it, and harping upon it, could never be brought to tune sharps aright, who, as soon as he heard these rules set down for the same, could tune them sufficiently well. I have taught divers others by these rules in less than a month what myself, by the old method, obtained not in more than two years. Divers other proofs I might recite which here, as needless, I do omit."[1]

From his Catholic home in Dublin, Bathe went to Oxford about the year 1583. Of his life there and his subsequent career the historian of Oxford says: "He studied several years in that University with indefatigable industry; but whether in any of the three houses wherein Irishmen of his time studied, viz., in University College, Hart, or Glocester Hall, or whether he took a Degree, I find not. Afterwards, under pretence of being weary with the heresy professed in England (as he usually termed it), he left the nation and the religion he was brought up to, and entered himself into the Society of Jesus. He was endowed with a most ardent zeal for souls, and respected not only by those of his own Order, but of other Orders, for his singular virtues and excellencies of good conditions. . . . He was buried, I presume, among his brethren in their house at Madrid, who had a most entire respect for him and his learning while he was living."[1]

[1] British Museum, c. 31, a. 18.
[1] Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*

So writes Anthony Wood, who was, however, mistaken in concluding that because he went to Oxford he had been brought up to the Protestant religion. In 1584, while "a student at Oxenford," he published a treatise on music, in which he claims to have broken fresh ground and hit upon a new and helpful method of arrangement. Its title runs thus: "A brief Introduction to the Art of Music, wherein are set down exact and easy rules for such as seek but to know the truth, with arguments and their solutions for such also as wish to know the reason of the truth. Which rules be means whereby any of his own industry may shortly, easily, and regularly attain to all such things as to this art do belong. To which otherwise any can hardly attain without tedious, difficult practice, by means of the irregular order now in teaching, lately set forth by William Bathe, student at Oxenford. Imprinted at London by Abel Jeffes, dwelling in Sermon Lane near Paule's Chain, anno 1584. Small oblong 4to, black letter. Dedicated by William Bathe to his uncle, Gerald FitzGerald, Earl of Kildare."[1]

According to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, Garrett, the son and heir of the Earl of Kildare, died among the Saxons, and in the next year, 1585, the Earl himself "died among the Saxons, namely, Garrett, the son of Garrett, son of Garrett, son of Thomas, son of John Cam. This Earl had been five years in prison and kept from his patrimonial inheritance until he died."[2]

Bathe wrote another treatise on music, "A brief

[1] Bliss' Edit. of Wood's *Athenæ;* but Kildare was his granduncle.
[2] *Four Masters an. 1585.*

Introduction to the Skill of Song, concerning the practice, set forth by William Bathe, gentleman. In which work is set downe ten sundry wayes of two parts in one upon the plain song. Also a table, newly added, of the comparisons of cleffes, how one followeth another for the naming of notes, with other necessarie examples to further the learner. London: Printed by Thomas Este, 1600. Small 8vo, 25 pp."[1] This book was presented to the British Museum by Sir John Hawkins, May 30, 1778.

Though there was a law excluding Irish minstrels from the English Pale under pain of imprisonment and the forfeiture *des instruments de leur minestralicie*, one Irish harp was found in the registries of the household goods of every Anglo-Irish family in the time of James II. Doubtless the same musical taste prevailed in the time of William Bathe, and his books were bought by those families and may be found among their descendants, who are now few and far between; most probably "Master B" of Dublin, who in 1605 was on his way to Douay or Salamanca and "had learned all his grammar, two years at music, song, and play," had studied those books of William Bathe, who presumably was his uncle.

Queen Elizabeth was much pleased with young Bathe's musical skill,[2] and showed her favour towards him by many grants of land. The cause of his going to London is thus mentioned by

[1] British Museum, c. 31, a. 18, and another copy there marked 1042. d. 36. 1. 3.

[2] Cf. "We are frolick here at Court. Irish tunes are at this time most pleasing." (Worcester to Shrewsbury, Sept. 19, 1602.)

Paul Sherlock, S.J., his earliest biographer, who was personally acquainted with him. Sherlock writes: "William Bathe was reared on the pure milk of the Catholic faith and trained to every Christian virtue. On the death of his father he succeeded to all the wealth and possessions of his house, but his elevation to this new position did not make him proud or vain; on the contrary, his Christian spirit, moderation, and mature judgment became more conspicuous. On one occasion, when the Viceroy had some matters of importance to bring under the notice of Elizabeth, he chose Bathe for that mission, knowing that his youth would be a recommendation of which men of more mature years were destitute. Young Bathe became a great favourite of the Queen, whom he delighted by his wonderful skill in playing all kinds of musical instruments, and amused by teaching her mnemonics, while his many other brilliant parts won for him universal estimation.

"Unlike most men in such circumstances, Bathe was not deceived by the flattering gifts of good fortune or by the splendour of the Court of Elizabeth. He had aspirations and longings which the English Court could not satisfy, and he returned to Ireland with the resolve to give himself to study and a priestly life."

The foregoing account is confirmed by the narrative in the *General History of the Society* by Jouvancy (part. v. bk. 13), and by Tanner, Patrignani, and other biographers, and by the State Papers. Bathe was related to the Queen through the Kildare family, and also, if I mistake not, to her kinsman, Sir John Perrott, Lord Deputy of

Ireland from 1583 to 1588, who on his return to England was kept for six months with the sentence of death hanging over him, and died of a broken heart in the Tower, his crime being that he had treated the Irish with common justice. A spy reports to Cecil that Bathe was brought up under Sir John Perrott, was four years in Westminster, and is a great scholar.[1] Perrott sent Sir Lucas Dillon, who was married to Bathe's aunt, to give an account of his proceedings to the Queen, and she, on the 20th of January, 1584, expressed her satisfaction to the Deputy. It is most probable that Bathe, who was then twenty years old, was sent to help his uncle on that delicate mission. That he won the good graces of the Queen is vouched for by the State Papers.[2] The Queen wrote to the Deputy and Lord Chancellor, August 13, 1587, directing a lease for forty-one years to be passed to William, son and heir of John Bathe, of such lands as were in the possession of John at the time of his decease. Again, on October 14, 1589, "Elizabeth R. directs a lease in reversion to be made to William Bathe of Dromconragh, of lands of the value of £20 a year," in consideration of certain lands having passed away from his father by general warrant, which should have otherwise come to him. On September 30, 1589, she wrote to the Lord Deputy to grant a lease of £30 a year to William Bathe of Drumconragh.[3]

On the 2nd of December, 1591, the Lord Deputy

[1] Letter of a spy named Stallenge to Cecil, December 31, 1602. See *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 106.

[2] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, pp. 139, 190.

[3] *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, 1588—1592, p. 243.

wrote to Burghley: It has transpired that "one William Bathe, a gentleman of the Pale, dwelling near Dublin, one known to your lordship for his skill in music, and for his late device of the new harp which he presented to Her Majesty, who has lately gone to Spain, did at his departure leave a cipher with William Nugent, whereby to carry on a correspondence on matters of State. There is an accusation against William Nugent, preferred by Thomas Wakely of the Navan, brother-in-law of the said William Nugent."

The following incident was the immediate occasion of Bathe's resolve to return to Ireland and leave the world, in order to devote himself to the service of God in the priesthood. He was one day, in 1588, at a window overlooking the Thames, with a nobleman who was a friend and relative of his own; he saw the English fleet enter London laden with the spoils of the Spaniards, and he said to his companion, "Heresy seems to triumph over faith in this victory of an heretical Sovereign over a Catholic King. But all this will pass away, and death will come upon us. How much better would it be to spend one's life in some retired corner of a Catholic country preparing for that last hour, than to live thoughtlessly amid the scenes of festivity and dissipation in which we mingle?" He came back to Ireland soon afterwards to lead a life of retirement, and look after the inheritance which fell to him by the death of his father a year before. He was then twenty-four years of age, and, as Sherlock tells us, four most brilliant matches were offered to him, yet he remained unshaken in his resolve to lead

a life of celibacy and renounce his inheritance in favour of his brother John. It was at this period he read and got others to read Father Parsons' *Christian Directory*, which appeared at that time. His opinion of that book is quoted in Father More's *History of the English Province, S.J.*:[1] "I have never heard of a book, the mere reading of which has produced so much fruit in our days in England and Ireland as this *Christian Directory*. A great councillor of the Queen in Ireland, and a friend of mine, who was for many years immersed in honours and pleasures, when hearing this book read, broke out into expressions of extraordinary admiration, saying that it would be almost impossible for any one to write with such force without singular help from on high. He was a man of great intellect and judgment, and he conceived such compunction from hearing it read, that he was never at rest, till, with the consent of his wife, and to the great wonder of the whole kingdom, he publicly renounced all his dignities, and went to lead a solitary life in a lonely place, where full of the grace of tears, he did wonderful penances to the end of his life."

The last traces of Bathe that we find in Ireland are in the Deputy's letter of the 2nd of December, already quoted, and in the following entry of the *Repertorium Inquisitionum*. "Sir Thomas Fitz-Williams, knight, was seized in fee of the manor, town, and lands of Balgriffine, 300 acres. He granted them on the 29th November, 1599, to William Bathe and his male heirs with remainder,

[1] See *Hib. Ignatiana*, p. 151; it is given in full in More's *Hist. Prov. Angliæ*, p. 112.

in case of no male issue, to John Bathe, now of Dromconragh. The said William was seized in fee of this aforesaid manor of Balgriffine; of the town and lands of Borecoolin, 60 acres; Nanger, 60 acres; Stacol, 60 acres. On the 6th of December, 1599, William gave to John Bathe the lands of Dromconragh, Balgriffine, Ballybockl, Drishoke, Clonmel, Glasneven, Borecoolin, Stacol, and Nanger. William died on the 20th of July, 1615, without heirs. His mother Jennet "died on 4th of June, 1617." Jouvancy, Nieremberg, Tanner, and most biographers, save only the earliest of all, Father Paul Sherlock, say that he went to Oxford after having given his property to his brother, but the *Repertorium Inquisitionum* confirms Sherlock's view. However, before quoting Sherlock's narrative, I will give an abridged account of his life at Oxford as it is described by sundry writers. They say, his friends tried to induce him to get married, as he was a man of wealth and position and a favourite of the Queen and the Viceroy, but he renounced his inheritance in favour of a younger brother, and went to Oxford to give himself wholly to piety and the study of philosophy, and the practice of rigorous penance. By degrees he was drawn to a desire of religious life by Almighty God, who had chosen him to promote His greater glory. The love of solitude gave him an inclination to the Order of Carthusians; the wish for a life of austerity attracted him to the Capuchins; zeal for the salvation of his neighbour drew him towards the Society of Jesus. One day when he had performed some acts of penitential austerity in order that God might extricate him from the

perplexity of his thoughts, he fell into a slumber, from which he was roused by a clear voice which said to him these words of St. John, *Ingredietur et egredietur et pascua inveniet.* He prayed fervently to know what these words meant, and he was given to understand that he was called to an active life and to the Society of Jesus. He accordingly went over to Flanders with a view to enter that Order.

We know from himself that he studied philosophy at Oxford and Louvain, and theology at Louvain; and though he may have had very serious thoughts at Oxford about his state of life, it seems clear that the things above narrated refer specially to the time of his divinity studies at Louvain; for this reason I prefer Sherlock's narrative, which I here give in full from the tenth volume, pp. 525 and 526, of *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record.*

"In Flanders he gave himself up to the study and practice of virtue. He led a life of strict retirement, great penance, and continual intercourse with God, and our Lord inspired him with strong desires of serving him in some Religious Order. Resolved on abandoning the world, and subjecting his will to another's, he was in great perplexity which of three Orders, which then flourished with strict observance, he should embrace, the Carthusian, the Capuchin, or the Society of Jesus. A fervent zeal for the conversion of sinners and the salvation of souls inclined him powerfully to the Society; but he feared that in the pursuit of these souls, and in intercourse with the world, he should miss the sweet repose of serious contemplation

which craves retirement and solitude. In the midst of this perplexity, his body being overcome by the workings of his soul, which was struggling to ascertain the will of Heaven, he one day fell asleep, and these words of St. John sounded in his interior: *Ingredietur et egredietur, et pascua inveniet;* and longing to know what they meant, he was given to understand that the pastures and spiritual food he sought, he should find in the active life observed in the Society of Jesus. Acting on this benign promise he immediately took steps to enter the Society in Flanders, and succeeded. After a few months' novitiate the Superiors found him so advanced in spiritual things, that they appointed him companion to the Master of Novices. After giving rare examples of all virtues in his novitiate, he was sent to the College of St. Omer, where a great number of English Catholic youths were educated. Here he assisted to train in letters, but much more in virtue and all kinds of spiritual knowledge, those young men, the promise of their native land; but falling into bad health, and his life becoming endangered, he went to Italy, by order of the Father General, and completed his studies in the College of Padua. There he conceived that burning zeal for the good of souls which lasted his whole life; his only delight being to reach them, he recognized no difficulty where their salvation was concerned. Day and night he was ready to attend any one who should call him, and he would seek them out himself in the prisons and hospitals, and wherever else he could discover those in need of his services, always preferring the poorest and most neglected.

"While he was thus practising for his future labours, it so happened that His Holiness appointed Father Luigi Mansoni, of the Society of Jesus, a man of great sanctity, prudence, and learning, as Apostolic Nuncio in Ireland. The Father General named William Bathe as his companion, and thus he went with the Nuncio to the Court of Spain, where they were to receive certain necessary instructions. Whilst they were at Court, however, peace was made between the crowns of Spain and England, and the embassy of the Nuncio came to an end. Father Mansoni returned to Italy, but Father Bathe remained at Valladolid, where the Court then was held, and thence he went to the University of Salamanca, where God had reserved for him so many victories and triumphs over Hell. He received from Heaven a singular faculty of giving the Exercises of St. Ignatius with such extraordinary effect, that he could do what he liked with souls, and his room was constantly crowded with people who came to be instructed by him. A great reformation among the citizens followed; but it was in the young men, the intellectual flower of Spain, who frequented that famous University, that God wrought most wonders through him.

"He took particular pains in instructing the poor, and established a confraternity of the humblest classes, which he placed under the patronage of the rich. At the same time he assisted in the Irish College, which during its short existence under the direction of the Jesuits, had sent a crowd of labourers to the vineyards of Ireland, many of whom became learned professors, bishops,

archbishops, and martyrs. Most of these passed under Father William's direction as dean of the house, and learned music and ceremonies from him. He procured the writing of a book, called *Janua Linguarum*, which was composed under his direction, and was of great service to novices in Latin, and he has left beside three other works—*An Introduction to the Arte of Music; a Spanish Treatise on the Sacrament of Penance;* and *Instructions on the Mysteries of Faith, in English and Spanish.*

"He performed the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius three times a year, and every month he had a day of retreat, which he called the day of his reformation, on which he always fasted till nightfall. He paid so little attention to the things of the world, that he scarcely took the trouble to learn the difference between the various pieces of money, and always had to study it when he had occasion to go on a journey. If the distance were not very great, he always travelled on foot, and never looked for ease or comfort wherever he might put up. He was rigorous in the use of the discipline, and always wore a hair-shirt. His sleep was the shortest, and on boards, and his mortification so extreme that his Superiors had to interfere in order to moderate it. He had extraordinary devotion to the Blessed Virgin, in whose honour he fasted every Saturday, and spent two hours in prayer, contemplating her virtues and prerogatives.

"His fame became so widespread that he was called to Madrid to give Spiritual Retreats to the highest personages there, when God was pleased to take him to Himself. He caught fever and died

seven days after, on the 17th of June, 1614, after receiving all the sacraments, in the forty-eighth year of his age, and the fifteenth year of his religious life. He was professed of the four vows, and he died, as he lived, a model of sanctity and Christian perfection."[1]

The sketch that I have given from the pen of Paul Sherlock, a distinguished pupil of Father Bathe's, I will confirm and supplement from other sources, specially from Eusebio Nieremberg's *Varones Ilustres*. While Bathe was studying and praying and devoting himself to the salvation of souls in Flanders, Italy, and Spain, he was not forgotten at home by either friends or foes. On the 2nd of December, 1591, Burghley is informed of his departure from Ireland. On October 26, 1602, Cecil is told by a spy that "there is at Milan an Irish Jesuit which hath great correspondence with Parsons and Edward Stanley;" on the 31st of December, 1602, he is further informed that "an Irish Jesuit has lately left Corunna, who was brought up under Sir John Perrott, was four years in Westminster, is a great scholar and knows Spanish. The State should beware of him as he has a devilish spirit."[2]

His brethren at home did not lose sight of him, and often urged Father General to send him to help and comfort his afflicted countrymen. The General consented, and selected him on the 1st of May, 1601, to accompany Father Manzoni, the

[1] Sherlock's Latin sketch translated by Dr. MacDonald in *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, x. 527.

[2] Report of a spy to Cecil, December 31, 1602.

Apostolic Nuncio, to Ireland. At the end of May, 1602, Bathe wrote an account of the state of Ireland, and in June wrote another account addressed to the Nuncio, which he desires to be shown to the Superiors, S.J., at Genoa, Bologna, Venice and Padua, and in the latter place to R Willoughby, an Englishman. His coming was expected in Ireland in 1604, and Holywood writes to the General that Father William had not yet come, and that he had a residence in the North prepared for him and Father Robert Nugent. He did not come, and was made spiritual director of the Irish College at Lisbon in 1604.[1]

The truth is, that this man "of a saturnine mind," "who hath a devilish spirit," had such influence for good over the Irish students, and the students of the University of Salamanca, and had his cell so besieged by Spanish noblemen who came to consult with him on the interests of their souls, that Father Archer, the Superior General of the Irish Colleges, and the Spanish Provincial were anxious to keep him, and were able to prevail on the Father General to delay his return to his native land. Thus the Peninsula became the theatre of his labours for the last fourteen years of his holy life, though he was most anxious to serve on the arduous and dangerous mission of Ireland. However, even abroad he rendered such service that he deserved to be mentioned by Father FitzSimon in 1611 among "the principal men who by their pains advanced the public good of our country to their greatest power, travailing for it without all private and

[1] *Hib. Ignat.* pp. 126, 130, 133.

provincial respects, by whom our said country received many rare helps and supplies, especially in these later days, to the great advancement of God's glory and discomfiture of heretics."[1] His labours in foreign fields are recorded by the Spanish Jesuits. The Annual Letters of Toledo, in mentioning his death, say that "he died at the Jesuit College of Madrid, the Fathers of Salamanca can tell all about his life and virtues; suffice it for us to say that as long as he was here he shone forth as a model of all virtues to the members of our community and to the people of the city."

Father Bathe's biographers say, he was a very industrious and hard-working man, and gifted by God with great zeal for the salvation of souls and with a singular grace for guiding in the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. In his novitiate and before his ordination he was made "Socius" of the Master of Novices, and when his novitiate was over, he was sent to St. Omer to take charge of the English youths there, and to prepare them to meet the many and dreadful dangers of apostasy or death that awaited them on their return to England. He devoted himself by word and example to that noble task with so much zeal, that his health broke down, and he was ordered by Father General to prosecute his theological studies at Padua. He was there ordained, and felt then an incredible ardour for saving souls beginning to glow in his heart: he could hardly speak of aught else, and he would not hesitate in presence of any obstacle, however great, if it were question of the

[1] *Life and Letters of Henry FitzSimon*, p. 68.

salvation of even one soul. Day and night he was ever ready for work; he went about the streets looking for the ignorant to teach them the articles of faith, for the poor and sick to help them; he was assiduous in visiting prisons and hospitals, and even houses where he suspected people were in want of spiritual or temporal assistance. These were but the preludes of great labours and many spiritual fruits. On May 19, 1601, the Pope[1] being informed by Father Archer, whom he had called to Rome, appointed as Apostolic Nuncio to that country Father Manzoni, a man of great prudence, learning, and holiness, and Father General gave him William Bathe as companion. This opportunity of transferring his zeal to Ireland filled Father Bathe with delight. The Nuncio and his companion went to Spain, but were prevented by the current of events from going to Ireland. Bathe lived first at Valladolid, where the Court was then held, but he soon went to Salamanca, where he was destined by God to triumph over the powers of darkness, and snatch very many souls from the jaws of Hell. There he performed the same works of zeal as at Padua, but, moreover, God there imparted to this "most spiritual Father"[2] a singular grace of giving the Spiritual Exercises with immense results, and of moving the hearts of men as he wished. No one made a retreat under his guidance without finding the desired tranquillity of soul. The house in which

[1] By the Bull *Romanum decet Pontificem* he appoints Manzoni as Nuncio, with the powers of Legate a Latere. (*Synopsis Actorum S. Sedis in causa Societatis Jesu*, p. 216.)

[2] "A este espiritualisimo Padre." (Nieremberg.)

he lived was never without some men of various classes and states of life making a retreat under his guidance, and his cell was besieged by people coming to seek his spiritual advice. The result of this zeal and piety was manifest in the reformation in the lives of the citizens, the nobles, and the youths of the University who had gathered there from all parts of the Peninsula. In a few months, more than three hundred notorious perpetrators or abettors of crime were converted under circumstances that seemed most extraordinary, and to the intense astonishment of the whole city of Salamanca. The students of the University were so inflamed with fervour, that all the monasteries soon got filled with novices, and every day most illustrious youths came to Salamanca to be guided by Bathe in the Spiritual Exercises.

His zeal was not satisfied with this great work. He undertook at the same time the care of the poor, and endeavoured to aid them by teaching the catechism, and by procuring temporal help for them. To this end he founded the Sodality of Nobles, which was called also *La Congregacion de Pobres*, and continued to flourish in numbers and piety up to the year 1641, when Nieremberg wrote, and till 1694, when Tanner penned his biography; and it would be interesting to know if it has survived down to our own times. He lived at the Irish College, and gave his tenderest care to that institution, from which, says Nieremberg in 1641, have gone forth three hundred most fervent priests of the mission in Ireland, besides many religious, learned Doctors of Divinity, and Professors of the first chairs in the most celebrated

Universities of Europe, whose erudite works witness to their industry and genius. Not a few of them became primates, archbishops, bishops, and prelates as well in Ireland as abroad; some suffered imprisonment and death for the faith, and some were renowned for the working of miracles before and after their deaths. No small proportion of those were gathered together by Father Bathe and advanced by him in the way of perfection. In this seminary of his nation he pronounced his profession of the four vows in the year 1612. He was especially endeared to men of all ranks and conditions by his ardent zeal for souls, his singular virtues, and his distinguished manners. He taught the students church music and the ceremonies, he also taught them the classics. Above all, by word and example he fostered in them a tender devotion to the Mother of God. In honour of this Blessed Mother, every Saturday he fasted and spent two hours in meditating on her power, excellence, goodness, maternal love, and her Divine Maternity, and moreover, on all the vigils of the festivals of her, whom he used to call his Mother, he took nothing but bread and water during the day.

His zeal for others did not diminish his zeal for his own perfection. He spent ten full days on retreat three times a year; every month he remained one whole day without any food, examining how he had passed the previous month, and preparing himself to spend the next month well. That day he called the day of his reform. He wore a hair-shirt of the most penitential kind, took the discipline every day, slept on a bare

board, guarded the gates of his senses with the greatest care; he never wore new clothes, and though he supported an immense number of poor, he did not know the names or values of the coins current at Salamanca, and would never touch them except in case of necessity.

In 1614, his fame having spread all over Spain, he was called to the Spanish capital to transact some matters connected with his country, and to give the Spiritual Exercises to the principal Ministers of the King, at whose request he was sent. He got suddenly ill on the evening of the 10th of June, and died on the 17th, and his eternal salvation was made known soon afterwards to a great servant of God. Two days before his death he was visited by Gaspar Schopp, who, on account of his astounding malevolence towards men of letters, was known through Europe as "Canis Grammaticus." Perhaps Father Bathe is the only one he ever had a kind word for; he has a fling even at him, but he speaks better of him than did Walter Harris, Esq., and the English spy. Sciopp or Schopp says, in his *Mercurius Quadrilinguis*: "William Bathe, born of a knightly family in Ireland, was a man of moderate erudition indeed, but was remarkable for the highest virtue, innocence, and piety, and admirable for the acumen of his genius and the facility of his inventions. From his love of the Christian religion and his zeal for its propagation among barbarous nations, especially in America, he excogitated and edited the *Gate of Tongues*, a method by which missionaries might be helped to learn the languages of the various tribes in foreign lands. Two days

before he gave up to God his pious soul and his spirit, which was gifted with the grace of prophecy, I saw him and was asked by him to bring out a new edition of his book."[1]

This quarto of 144 pages, entitled *Janua Linguarum*, in Latin and Spanish, went through very many editions in all the kingdoms of Europe.[2] I have been able to find only one copy of the first edition in the Roman libraries, and Padre Hervas said there was only one copy in Spain, and that in the Royal Library, Madrid. It was published at Salamanca, in 1611, but it was begun in Ireland, about the year 1590, was continued in Flanders, Padua, and Venice, and was ready for press before the 1st of October, 1608 as appears from the approbations by de Cespedes, Dr. Sanchez, Herman Vasquez de Gusman, Luis de la Cerda (the Virgilian commentator), Gaspar Sanchez, Luis de Valdivia. Alegambe and Southwell say it was a wonderful work, which could be applied to the learning of any language. It appeared at various times and places in the space of twenty years, in at least eleven tongues, in Latin, Spanish, Italian, French, English, German, Greek, Hebrew, Bohemian, Illyrian, and Hungarian. In England, in 1615, Latin and English; in London, in 1617, under the title, *The Messe of Tongues* ("Latin, French, English, Hispanish"); in 1617, in Latin, Spanish, English,[3] French, and German, by Isaac Habrecht;[4] in 1619, it appeared in eight lan-

[1] Schioppius' Preface to his *Mercurius Quadrilinguis*. Edit. 1637.

[2] "Une infinité d'éditions." (Moréri's *Dictionary*, v. "Bathe.")

[3] Amos Comenius, in his *Janua Linguarum*.

[4] Lagomarsini, in a speech at Florence, January, 1735.

guages ;[1] at London in 1623, Latin-English, fifth edition ;[2] in 1626, at Leipsic, by Rhenius ; in 1628, at Milan, in Latin-Italian, by the philosopher and poet, Alessandro Tassoni, Cessarini, and a Dutch linguist named Moonsius ;[3] it was often edited in Germany before 1629 ; in that year it appeared in eight languages ;[4] before 1637, it appeared in Bohemian, Illyrian, and Hungarian ; in 1637, at Milan, in Latin, Italian, Greek, and Hebrew, by Gaspar Schopp ;[5] in 1655, at Venice, in Italian and Latin, by Galesini. In 1631, John Amos Comenius adopted the title, idea, and plan of the book,[6] and tried to do something better, thereby getting a colossal reputation ; in 1656, Docenius endeavoured to improve on both in his *Seminarium Linguarum et scientiarum omnium ;* but I believe Bathe's method, as carried out in his book, is better than theirs[7] for acquiring a working knowledge of a language in a short time, and I cannot but regret that it was not applied to the learning of Irish.

The Preface, written in Latin and Spanish by Father Bathe, explains the plan of the book. He says he composed it to help (1) apostolic men who are missioners among the heathen ; or (2) con-

[1] Pexenfelder's *Apparatus Eruditionis*, Prefatio. Edit. 1704.

[2] Translated by Wil. Welde, printed by H. L. at the expense of Matthew Lowns.

[3] Gaspar Schopp's Pref. to *Mercurius Quadrilinguis.*

[4] Lagomarsini, in a speech at Florence, January, 1735.

[5] Gaspar Schopp's Pref. to *Mercurius Quadrilinguis.*

[6] Comenius says so himself ; yet the ninth edition of *Encyclopedia Britannica* says Bathe borrowed from Comenius ! Hervas says Comenius got the idea, plan, and a part of his matter from Bathe. (Hervas, *Idea del Universo*, lib. iv. pp. 99, tom. 2, part i.)

[7] Since this was printed I find that Father Sommervogel agrees with me, and says Bathe's plan "est plus avantageux." (*Bibliothèque*, vol. i. col. 1009.)

fessors who are stationed in places frequented by foreigners; or (3) persons advanced in age to learn languages necessary for ordination; (4) to enable students to learn Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, &c., in a short time. The book contains 1,330 short sentences grouped under certain headings, and about 5,300 words, not one of which is repeated twice. The Latin and Spanish are on opposite pages, and there is an Index giving the translation of each Latin word, and a reference to the sentence in which it occurs. An illustrious Irish youth was committed by the King to the care of Dr. Sanchez, Professor of Rhetoric in the University, to be instructed by him, and "by this method he learned more in three months than is learned by the ordinary ways in three years."

Bathe, after he had given an easy method of learning music, turned his thoughts to simplify the study of languages. Finding the nomenclature of words a gruesome muddle,[1] he collected 5,300 usual, "fundamental," and rare words from Calepinus' Latin Dictionary; then, with immense labour, he put them into 1,330 short connected sentences, that they might be the better understood and remembered, and thus was the originator of connectedness in teaching. Schopp says that in this he was assisted by his brother (and heir), John Bathe, a man of great virtue and learning, who on account of his extraordinary memory was commonly called at the Spanish Court, *Don Juan de la gran memoria;* and that he was also helped by Father Stephen, an Irish theologian of the

[1] Bathe says in his Preface, written in 1608, that he had begun the work twenty years previously. (E. H.)

Jesuitic Society, a man of remarkable probity,[1] who afterwards taught divinity for many years at Dilingen. The success of the method was such that at the Spanish Court a bet of five hundred gold crowns (*aurei*) was made that a little son of a certain great Prince would learn so much Latin by this method alone in six months that he would be able to read the familiar epistles of Cicero and Cæsar's Commentaries. The bet was won. Many similar trials could be quoted. Schopp himself learned Spanish in twenty days by that method. Of this remarkable book of William Bathe Irishmen know nothing. "Oh, breathe not *his* name, let him sleep in the shade," while in 1892 the Germans founded a "Comenius Gesellschaft" and a journal, to celebrate the tercentenary of the birth of Comenius, and to propagate his pedagogic views.

On the 25th of January, 1614, Father Bathe finished his Preface to a Spanish work on Penance, and on the 20th of April he says he defers for a short time the publication of his treatise on the Eucharist, as he was called away to some pressing duty, that is, he was sent, I presume, to give retreats at the Court of Spain. But he promises with God's help to bring out that work soon, and also another spiritual book. In this work[2] of

[1] The *Canis Grammaticus* gives this poor praise to Stephen White, one of the most learned men in Europe, who is styled by Ussher "vir antiquitatum non Hiberniæ solum suæ sed aliarum etiam gentium scientissimus."

[2] The title-page has, "Aparejos para administrar el sacramento de la Penitencia con mas facilidad y fruto, y recevir los admirables efectos que suele obrar la Santa Eucharistia en los que llegan à ella bien dispuestos. Recogidos por el Licenciado don Pedro Manrique. En Milan, 1604." The Preface was really written in 1614. This book was translated into Latin in 1622.

260 pages, he inserts an Instruction on General Confession, which he had previously printed at Barcelona; he gives reasons and motives to attract sinners to make retreats, and describes twenty-six recent conversions effected by means of the Spiritual Exercises. The first part of the book was printed before April, 1614, and was to be followed by a second part on the Eucharist, but he was called away to arduous duty at Madrid, and died soon afterwards. Why the book appeared as printed at "Milan, 1604," under the *nom de plume* of Don Pedro Manrique, is a puzzle. As Bathe did not put his name to his *Janua Linguarum*, perhaps he did not wish to put his name to any of his books. Quérard attributes the pseudonym to Bathe, Father Sommervogel[1] does not agree with Quérard, and seems to take it as a pseudonym of Father Cresswell.

It would be rash to disagree with Sommervogel on such matters; but I will risk it for these reasons: (1) Alegambe, a contemporary, and Sherlock, a pupil of Bathe's, attribute to him the work on music, the *Janua*, the Instructions on the Mysteries of the Faith, in English and Spanish, and a Spanish treatise of the Sacrament of Penance; (2) Southwell, the continuator of Alegambe, adopts their statement; (3) there is some internal evidence which points to Bathe, the famous interpreter of the Spiritual Exercises. We read: "These preparations (*Aparejos*) have been put together, that they may be beneficial to all, as they have been to many who have already made use of them. They are printed on separate

[1] Sommervogel's *Supplément to De Backer's Bibliothèque*, col. 52.

sheets, as doctors' receipts, having to serve some before the retreat, some after, some during it. . . . Hence they could not be bound into one volume. . . . Barcelona on the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, 1614, to whom I dedicate this work." He then gives reasons to induce people to make retreats, inserts an Instruction on the Method of General Confession, previously published at Barcelona, doubtless by himself, in 14 pages; he describes "fifteen notable conversions in our times brought about by a retreat of one day, among which converts were two Protestants;" he tells also of eleven conversions wrought by retreats of more days than one. He says, "a man came to make the Spiritual Exercises," "the religious himself knew much of mathematics, and various other curious things;" these conversions he mentions as he had *particular knowledge of them himself.* He says, at page 260, that he had promised in the title-page to treat of the Blessed Eucharist as well as of Penance, but would not do so there and then, as he was ordered to perform some duty that he could not put off. He promises to do this very soon, with God's help, and hopes that the delay will enable him to bring out the treatise in a more finished form. (4) There is some external evidence pointing to Bathe as Manrique. There are two copies and two only, of Bathe's Latin-Spanish *Janua*, one in Spain, which Hervas declared to be the only one in the Peninsula; I found one in the Roman College, in 1864, and there may be some in Asia or America, brought over by the Jesuit missionaries, at whose urgent request the book was published. In the Roman

College copy I find the following manuscript entries: "Page 1, El Padre Frigo Manrique; page 39, Por la mano y pluma del Sr. Licenciado Juan Frigo de Manrique; page 95, El L^do^ Juan Frigo Vicerrector del Collegio de San Geronimo de los Irlandeses." Here Frigo Manrique is evidently for Bathe.

From the foregoing narrative it may be seen that the sketches of Father Bathe in the *National Biography*, and other biographical dictionaries, are incomplete and incorrect. Bathe was born and brought up a Catholic by Catholic parents;[1] grew to manhood in the sunshine of the Courts of Dublin and Westminster, had a spirit as opposite as could be to the "saturnine" and "devilish spirit;" he was an accomplished musician, and made an "Irish harp of a new device," which he presented to Elizabeth; he was a good linguist, a zealous, hard-working priest, a holy and mortified religious, endowed by God with a rare gift of bringing sinners to repentance, and of training youths in the practices of piety. His life was written by his distinguished pupil, Paul Sherlock, S.J., by his contemporary Alegambe, by Nieremberg, Jouvancy, Tanner, Patrignani, and Brother Foley, and with some detail in the *Hibernia Ignatiana;* and his books are described in four or five columns of Father Carlos Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus.*

[1] His father, "her Majesty's Chancellor, was a Papist, as all Irishmen be." (Trollope to Walsingham, 12 Sept., 1581, in Brady's State Papers, p. 48.)

XIII.

FATHER CHRISTOPHER HOLYWOOD.[1]

THIS celebrated Jesuit, who had the reputation of an able man and great controversialist,[2] was born at Artane Castle, Dublin, in the year 1559,[3] studied for some years at the University of Padua, entered the Society at Dôle, in France, in 1584, was Professor of Philosophy in Italy, of Theology at Dôle and Pont-à-Mousson, and of Scripture at Padua; from 1599 to 1603, he was a prisoner at the Gatehouse Prison, Westminster, then in the Tower, in Wisbeach Castle, and the Castle of Framlingham. He was exiled in 1603, and returning immediately, he was Superior of the Jesuit Mission in Ireland till his death in 1626. He wrote two controversial works, one book on physical science, a tract on the death of the English persecutors in the reign of Elizabeth, and (according to Dr. Neal O'Glassan) some book on the history of Ireland.

The family of Holywood or de Sacrobosco, which disappeared two hundred years ago, flourished in Ireland for nearly five centuries. John de Sacro-

[1] He published books under the names of a Sacrobosco and John Geraldine, and wrote his letters, to prevent his identification by the English, under the pseudonyms of John Bushlock, Jo. Busi, Thomas Lawndrie, &c.

[2] Moréri's *Grand Dictionnaire Historique*, article "Holywood."

[3] 1562, according to the English Jesuit, Nathaniel Southwell.

bosco was born at Holywood, four miles south-west from Balbriggan. "Professed the learned sciences at Paris and there slumbereth in the dust," says Meredith Hanmer, "in the cloister of the Convent of St. Mathurin. He wrote sundry works, one of which, *De Sphæra Mundi*, has been edited with notes by several learned men, and especially by the Jesuit Christopher Clavius." Of this ancient family Roger Holywood attended the Parliament of Kilkenny in 1310; in 1355 Robert was Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer; in 1361 another Robert was one of the gentlemen, "the worthiest then in chivalry,"[1] who were knighted by the Duke of Clarence. In 1402 Christopher was empowered by the King to hold convocations of prelates, lords &c. In 1427 Sir Robert Holywood was High Sheriff of the county of Dublin; his wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Christopher, third lord of Killeen, and his daughter Elizabeth became wife of the third Baron of Delvin; and two other ladies of that house married Netterville of Dowth and St. Lawrence of Howth, who was Chief Justice from the year 1555 to 1559. Father Holywood's father was Nicholas, lord of the manors of Artane, of Great Holywood[2] in Santry, and of divers other lands in the counties of Dublin, Meath and Wexford; his mother was niece of the Baron of Delvin and heiress-general of the fifth Baron Dunsany, but was passed over on the death of her father

[1] This is recorded in the Blessed Edmund Campion's *History of Ireland*.

[2] Holywood, anciently called Swythin, is a townland in Fingal, north of Dublin; its Irish name was Sgoltwood in the twelfth century. (*Cambrensis Eversus*, i. p. 237.)

and the peerage was enjoyed by her uncle.[1] Thus he was related by blood to the noble families of Dunsany, Fingal, Westmeath, Inshequin, and Netterville; and to Sir Christopher Plunket, of Dunshoghly, under whose roof-tree he found shelter during the perilous times of his missionary career.

Holywood was born in the district of Fingal,[2] near Dublin, and at his father's Castle of Artane. The years 1562 and 1582 are given as the dates of his birth and entry into religion by Dr. Oliver, Brother Foley, and others; but in the Catalogues of Irish Jesuits in 1609 and 1617, compiled by Holywood, or under his direction, the years are 1559 and 1584; and these dates are supported by the history of the University of Padua, which he entered in 1579. While studying in arts there for about four years, he much frequented the Jesuit Fathers;[3] and, as they approved of his piety and learning, he was admitted into their Society.[4] He was then twenty-five years of age, and, as some say, he was on the point of being married;[5] but there seems to be no foundation for this, if the circumstantial account of his life at the Padua "Gymnasium," given in the history of that place, be correct, as I think it is. He entered the Novitiate at Dôle, in France, and distinguished himself in his philosophical and theological studies.

[1] Those details are found in Lodge's *Peerage* and D'Alton's *Hist. of the Co. of Dublin.*

[2] He is called "Fingallensis" in the Catalogue of Irish Jesuits of 1617.

[3] Father Possevinus' letter to F. Leone Gagliardi.

[4] *Historia Gymnasii Patavini*, by Comnenus.

[5] Lynch's *Alithinologiæ Supplementum*, p. 189.

In 1593 he was at Pont-à-Mousson University[1] with Father Fleming,[2] his countryman, who was then its Chancellor;[3] he taught philosophy in Italy, theology at Dôle and Pont-à-Mousson, and Sacred Scripture at Padua,[4] where he made his profession of the four vows. In one of these places he had as colleagues two very distinguished Jesuits, named Menù and Valle; at Ferrara and Padua he knew Father Bellarmine, who was afterwards raised to the purple.[5] That he knew Bellarmine at Ferrara and Padua, and that he was in those towns in 1598, we gather from the following letters taken together. Cardinal Mattei writes from Ferrara to Father General on the 21st of May, 1598: "I gave an account to His Holiness yesterday morning of your intention to send some Fathers to Ireland, as soon as it shall please His Holiness, that they may produce there that spiritual fruit which is to be expected from their hands. His Holiness is much pleased at your zeal, and grants to such Fathers as you shall send all the faculties which have been given to the Fathers already gone to England, and His Holiness wishes that this my letter shall suffice for the granting of these powers." Holywood wrote to the General from Milan on the 10th of June, "I thank your Paternity for the solicitude you have for my welfare. I will go to

[1] Roman Archives, S.J. *Anglia*, 1590—1615, p. 121.
[2] See a sketch of him given in these pages previously.
[3] Roman Archives, S.J. *Anglia*, 1590—1615, p. 121.
[4] *Hibernia Ignatiana*, pp. 33, 116.
[5] In a letter to Father Conway, written in 1611, he says: "Saluta, quæso, ex me Rev. nostrum Petrum, et purpuratum nostrum Robertum mihi Ferrariæ et Patavi notum; item collegas meos D. Antonium Mariam Menù et D. Paulum Valle, to whom I am very thankful for his kindly using Hart as he passed by." (Letter printed in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, x. p. 296.)

Padua next week and will do there whatever the Provincial shall direct until such time as your Paternity shall otherwise dispose of me. I have had a letter stating that no one in Ireland has the power of dispensing with the Catholic gentlemen, so as to enable them to hold the ecclesiastical property which they now have, until such time as God shall give peace to the Church. Your Paternity will please consider whether it be expedient that our Fathers who are to be sent thither should have such power. Certainly it is useful for the Church that Catholics should hold its property for the present, as they will be always ready to restore it, and meanwhile will every year devote some money to pious uses; while, if the heretics had all this Church property, they would be harder to convert, and would give nothing towards the support of the poor."[1]

When Holywood was at Ferrara and Padua, Bellarmine was there also, as we know from his biographies written by Bartoli and Frizon. These letters of Holywood confirm the statements of his Jesuit biographers, and throw light on the critical taste and temper of the late unfortunate Döllinger. He says that Bellarmine was with the Pope at Ferrara for eight months after April, 1598, and then, with Baronius, had to flee to Venice; "and for this flight Bartoli and Frizon *have substituted*[2] a pilgrimage of Bellarmin and Baronius to the grave of St. Anthony of Padua."

[1] *Hibernia Ignatiana*, pp. 37, 38.

[2] "Substituirt." See *Die Selbstbiographie des Cardinals Bellarmin*, herausgegeben von I. I. Ign. von Döllinger und Fr. H. Reusch, pp. 40, 143.

Before Holywood left the Continent he resigned his inheritance to his brother[1] Nicholas, and in so doing he was helped by his neighbour and future brother, William Bathe, as I think we may safely gather from some mysterious items in the *Liber Inquisitionum Lageniæ*.[2]

We next hear of Holywood from the Tower of London. Under the name of John Bushlock, and as if speaking of a third person, he narrates his story to Father General on the 1st of May, 1599. "When Father Christopher, who is now in prison in London, was travelling alone through Switzerland, he began to think about his position, as often happens to persons in such circumstances—he asked himself, what would be the best thing that could happen him, and what Divine Providence had in store for him. He thought it was very desirable that he should fall into the power of the heretics; but on the other hand he deemed it more in conformity with obedience (the interpreter of the Divine will) to reach the appointed island, as he was aware your Paternity vehemently desired that. This interior strife remained some days, till at Spire he heard Father Gregory (de Valentia) say, that Divine love required of us to wish to remain longer in life for the salvation of others than to die early for one's own consolation. Hearing

[1] Lynch's *Alithinologia Supplementum*, p. 189. Probably in or before July, 1587.

[2] "William Bathe of Drumconrath, Barnwall of Dunbro . . . became executors ad usum specificat, in indentura 8 Julii 1587 between Nicholas Holywood and them. Robert Barnwall in 1627 was seized of one Castle of Artane, 52 mess. and 1550 acres, parcel of the manor of Holywood, for the use specified in an indenture facta sub quad' recuperacion habitas Term. S. Trin. 1587 per Wil. Bath."

this by chance, and so opportunely from such a man, he deemed it not merely true, but as a notification that he would be preserved to work in the vineyard of the Lord. Four days he was in that state of security, when two respectable countrymen of his met him and told him he would very probably be captured, and congratulated him, as the enemy could not find anything against him but his religion. To avoid this cross, however, he took the safest way. The Superior of the Dutch Mission, who was then at Brussels, and Mr. Richard Stanihurst,[1] and two chief Fathers of the Belgian Province, thought the way by Holland to be dangerous, so on the 3rd of January from Arras he went to Abbeville, where the boy, who was given him at Arras to bring back his horse, said publicly that though dressed as a layman he belonged to an Order for whose members it is a capital crime to journey through France. How the boy knew that Holywood could not tell, and he cannot believe that a friend, to whom he bid good-bye at Arras, would have communicated the fact to a strange lad. He found the gentleman of Abbeville, to whom he had a letter of introduction, very cold, and muttering that the Irish merchant was a Jesuit. He then went to Dieppe, and finding an obscure inn, told its owner that he was an Irishman, and a subject of the Queen of England, and that he was returning home, but feared the English on account of the war which some of the Irish were waging against the Queen. The good old man, whom God reward, promised help and gave a secret room at once.

[1] The pupil and friend of the Blessed Edmund Campion and the father of two Jesuits, Peter and William Stanihurst.

Next day, as there was no ship bound for Ireland, he secured a passage in one of two English vessels that were in the harbour. The other captain, hearing this, found out Christopher's inn, told the innkeeper that he should go with him, as he had a special privilege of carrying passengers, and had a sharp eye for traitors. The innkeeper said, 'There is staying with me a merchant, and no traitor, and he is out at present.' This captain went to England; but the other vessel being detained from day to day, Christopher, fearing he might be discovered in a little town filled with French Huguenots and English Protestants, went away secretly in another vessel. As the captain, who was a French Huguenot, took him for an Englishman, he thought it more prudent not to undeceive him.

"Arriving at Dover he refused the oath of supremacy, which was tendered to him, was imprisoned and then taken to London. As he was then only known to be a Catholic, and as he was anxious to carry out the wishes of your Paternity, he went to some one (the Baron of Dunsany, his cousin) whom he believed to be a friend, and who could get him released if he used his influence. But that man, through timidity or through God's permission, refused to see the Father, and for this he was sorry soon after. Considering this, and that there were very many in the kingdom who knew him at Padua, he resolved to reveal his state of life, and, when brought before my Lord Cobham, he did so. Lord Cobham said, 'Why have you come to disturb the kingdom?' Holywood: 'That is abhorrent from my Institute.' Cobham: 'We know your Society meddles in matters of State;

and hence the very Pope hates you, and the French have banished you; and indeed it would be extraordinary if you were free from that stain, as all our English are possessed by the devil and won't keep quiet.' Holywood: 'What others may do I know not, I speak for myself; but as to our banishment from France, that is due to the implacable hatred and occult machinations of heretics.' Then he was brought before Robert Cecil, and confessed that he was a priest and Jesuit. Cecil said, 'What brought you hither?' Holywood: 'I have come for the salvation of souls.' Cecil: 'What need have we of your help, are we not Christians?' Holywood: 'That is not enough, as you are not Catholics.' Cecil: 'As faith must be free, and as no one can help you unless God gives you light, for your faith you shall suffer nothing, but if you be found meddling in political matters, you shall not go unpunished.' Holywood: 'I renounced the world long ago; I no longer meddle in secular matters, it is foreign to my Institute.' Then Cecil inveighed against our Order, and as the Father began to defend it, saying that it proposed to its members nothing but what was praiseworthy, Cecil ordered him to be put into close[1] custody, in which he remained for three months, when at the intercession of his cousin, the Lord of Dunsawny, he got the freedom of prison, that is, leave to see his friends."[2]

"I must not omit to mention two things which

[1] "Close prison is all one as to be buried alive." (*Philips* to James I.)

[2] There is in the Salisbury Papers a "Declaration of Christopher Holywood, Jesuit, cousin of Lord Dunsany, as to his detention in the Gatehouse." (*Hist. MSS. Commission*, 7th Report.)

this Father tells almost unwillingly. One is, that from his boyhood he had desired to be asked to take that oath, specially in England, where he would have more to fear than in Ireland; and he desired this as he was grieved to see countrymen of his, and men of quality, contaminating themselves in that matter against their conscience and the honour of God and of their country. God gratified that desire of his at Dover. Another thing is that while he was in close custody, bereft of all human consolation, God communicated Himself to him more abundantly in his prayers. His relatives are trying to procure him liberty; he has seriously warned them that, if they attempt such a thing, the manner of bringing it about must not be evil even in appearance.

"So far about him; now about ourselves. Our lot is hard here in Ireland.[1] The whole island is divided, and full of soldiers; he who is in one part (though he may do nothing) is looked on as an author of sedition and rebellion, while he who resides in the other is considered to be a favourer and even a propagator of heresy. . . . May the God of our heart fill with His grace your Paternity and all your sons scattered through the world, and keep us even to the end in the way of His commandments. Dublin,[2] May 11, 99, Old Style."

On the 1st of September Holywood was still in prison, but not kept as closely as before; there were persons most anxious to do everything to obtain his freedom, but those who had influence

[1] He writes as if from Dublin, and he means Archer and Fitzsimon.

[2] Really, Tower of London, or the Gatehouse.

were somewhat afraid to move in the matter. A leading man told Father De la Field that he could be freed if he bound himself by oath to persuade our countrymen that it was lawful to take up arms against those who resist the royal power.[1]

Father Ralph Bickley was the only Jesuit at Wisbeach Castle till, in February, 1600, Father Holywood, who had been captured the year before, was sent thither from the Gatehouse, with Father Coffin from the Counter in Wood Street, and Ralph Emerson from the Clink, and on the 22nd of May, Father Garnet reports that "Father Holywood doth much comfort our friends at Wisbeach, and was of exceeding edification in the Gatehouse; there is hope of setting him at liberty and sending him to his country."[2] However, his brethren in Ireland, who had heard from him every month while he was in London, had no news of him from his new prison up to the 20th of July, and had no hope of his release while Elizabeth reigned.[3] His quarters at Wisbeach were not very comfortable; according to Father Garnet, "the prisoners were suffered to buy nothing but bread and drink. But now they buy their own meat, yet are kept from their chambers, and are not suffered to have their beds, but in two straight rooms forced to lie on mats on the ground to the number of twenty."

According to Southwell, Holywood, while in prison, had frequent disputations with Protestant ministers.[4] In the year 1602 he was instrumental

[1] Letter of Father De la Field, in *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 49.
[2] H. Foley's *Records of the English Province*, i. p. 483.
[3] *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 67.
[4] Father N. Southwell's *Bibliotheca Scriptorum, S.J.*, article "Sacrobosco."

in converting a gentleman named Grosse, to whom he was brought by William Alabaster, "the rarest poet and Grecian that any age or nation produced."[1] Grosse died a Jesuit, and Alabaster ended as Protestant D.D. and Prebendary of St. Paul's. Grosse says:[2] "My parents and friends are of the Calvinistic sect. If any report about Catholics reached my ears, a certain feeling of hatred would inflame my soul, and I would load them with scurrilous words and curses. Hearing that there was a learned Suffolk man in the Castle of Wisbeach, and having known him at Cambridge, I resolved to go to see him, on the Saturday night before the Epiphany, and find out what manner of men those Papists were. I remained with Alabaster until seven or eight at night, discoursing on the subject of image and saint worship, good works, and so forth. Seeing that he could not convince me, leaving me alone in my cell, he returned with an Irish priest, named Holywood, who is now (in 1603) living at Douay, and after some conversation we began to discuss the point, 'Which is the true Church?' They were unable to drive me from the position I had taken up, or rather, they were able to do so, but I was unwilling to yield myself their captive. The Irish priest, seeing me so obstinate a defender of the Anglican Church, taking from his breast showed me a pamphlet with seven or eight valid reasons for the Roman Church, which having read and closely examined, my obstinate spirit began to relax. However, I dissembled, and would not allow

[1] *Athenæ Oxon.* i. p. 144.
[2] Foley's *Records of the English Province*, i. 619.

myself to be vanquished. After this another priest, a Spaniard, came in, named Rogers; his affability of address and speech and gentle manner of conversation went much further to convince me, although he adduced nothing new, for the others were both subtle and warm disputants. They invited me to supper, and about an hour after I returned to my inn, and throwing myself upon the bed, I began to recall the arguments, and having equally balanced them all, I suddenly rose to my feet and said to myself: 'Certainly this is the true religion.' Then I went to Cambridge, where I expected a Fellowship from Corpus Christi College; but fortunately no election of Fellows then took place. I then crossed over to Douay, where I lived until I came hither to Rome."

On the death of Elizabeth in April, 1603, Fathers Holywood, Bickley, Coffin, and Brother Ralph Emerson, were removed from Wisbeach to Framlingham Prison, Suffolk, preparatory to their banishment; and in a State Paper of 1603, which is endorsed by Cecil as "A note of the Jesuits that lurk in England," we find among other "prisoners at Framlingham, Mr. Coffin, *alias* Hatton, Mr. Emerson, Mr. Bickley, Mr. Pound (a lay Jesuit), Mr. Holywood, Mr. Hoskins, Mr. Baldwin"—all Jesuits.[1] Early in that year Holywood and an Irish Bishop, and Fathers Coffin and Bickley were sent into perpetual banishment. On the 30th of June, Holywood was at Lille, and wrote to Father General: "Your Paternity has signified to me by a letter dated the 8th of June, which reached me yesterday, that nothing can be determined about

[1] *Records of the English Province*, i. 483, 506.

me until you know how the affairs of the Irish Mission may turn out,[1] about which you say you have heard nothing for a long time; and that I am to remain in Belgium for the present to be employed by the Belgian Provincial. I have spoken to him here at Lille, and I am returning to Douay to be occupied there. However, as he fears I may be soon called away, he is forced to use me as if he did not employ me; and thus I am become a burden to a Province in which I had never worked, and a greater burden to myself. Wherefore I beg of your Paternity, if you still reserve me for the Irish Mission, to let me go to my companions, when and how I may be able; or, if you have any other project, to let me return to my Province at Dôle. The state of the Irish Mission is uncertain and so are the designs of the King of England; and the Fathers of Dôle on a former occasion invited me back to themselves, when they heard that the air of Milan did not agree with me. Fathers Barnaby (Kearney) and Walter (Wale) have notified their departure to you. I thank your Paternity for having decided to give a fixed domicile to the Irish who aspire to our Society."

On the 16th of July he writes from Douay to Father General: "From two men worthy of credit, lately come out of Ireland, I have heard that a persecution arose in Dublin before the death of Elizabeth. Terrell, the mayor, a pestilent heretic, and Rider, Dean of St. Patrick's, who wrote a book

[1] The letters were written and lost on the way; at pp. 108 and 111 of *Hibernia Ignatiana* I have printed two letters to the General from Field and FitzSimon of the dates Feb. 25 and April 10, in 1600. The Irish often complained of not having their letters answered by the General.

against Father Henry FitzSimon, were the instigators of it. The citizens of the lower classes were so persecuted by them that they left the city and sought shelter in the neighbouring villages; the leading citizens were cast into prison. When the Lord Deputy Mountjoy came back from Connaught in the second or third week in Lent, he put a stop to the mayor's work, and said to him: 'while I put an end to war outside, you sow the seeds of war at home.' I think he had news of the Queen's illness at that time, and an order to establish peace any way he could. When Elizabeth's death became known, the citizens of Waterford, Kilkenny, and Cork burned the books of the heretics, ejected the ministers, and publicly had Mass said in the churches. The Viceroy, fearing a general rising, called back the army from the North, where he had already concluded peace with O'Neile; he went to the South, and finding that it was a mere matter of religion, he prevailed on the cities to receive each of them a garrison of one hundred men, and returned to Dublin and then to England. The people of Waterford would not permit him to enter their city except with a small escort. The citizens of Kilkenny restored the old worship in the churches, and with solemn rites got their river blessed; after which a great quantity of fish was caught. Pilsworth, the English parson of Naas, which is twelve miles from Dublin, seeing the people going in crowds to assist at High Mass, was terror-stricken and rode with two companions to Dublin, and, not thinking it safe to remain long there, went away to England. The chief nobles and gentlemen of Ireland are now in London,

urging the King to grant the free exercise of the Catholic religion."

In the month of September, Holywood was at Amiens, and wrote to Father General; then he went to Rouen, where he was laid up for five months with a bad foot, which he almost lost "through the abundance and putrefaction of the confluent humours." It is clear that his health was undermined by the hardships of three years' prison life. From St. Malo he writes on the 9th of March, 1604, that he will sail for Ireland in a few days. He landed in Ireland on the vigil of St. Patrick's day, after an absence of twenty-five years or more, and hoped that his arrival for the feast of the Apostle of Ireland would be an omen of success.

In the last week of Lent he reached the town (of Clonmel), in which Fathers Leinich and Morony were staying during those days, and he waited till the Superior came to them; and when, in presence of these two Fathers and of Fathers Wale and O'Kearney, who came also, Father De la Field declared that his commission had expired, Holywood took his place and set to work as Superior of the Mission, which post he filled worthily for twenty-two years. He found some parts of Ireland "suffering from famine, others from the pest, and all from the annoyance of the soldiers and their officers. Many have become rich by the spoils of the Church, one of whom is said to possess thirty monasteries—such men are working already to prevent the future Parliament from being favourable to Catholics. Some leading citizens of Kilkenny are imprisoned because they would not

profane the Dominican Church by using it for the holding of provincial councils. The English are trying all means to capture the Abbot of the Monastery of Holy Cross, either because he is supposed to be wealthy, or as he is a prelate unmindful of the times in which we live; it is reported that the Lord Deputy and Chancellor have given power to a certain knight and some others to apprehend and imprison all the priests they can find. Holywood had gone over a great part of Munster, found the cities and towns publicly professing the Catholic faith, and hearing Mass and sermons in large halls as the use of the churches is withheld from them. "The people are fairly well instructed in matters of religion. The Jesuits who cultivate Munster produce much fruit, and are liked by the clergy, the gentry, and the people; when they return to their residences after a mission, they are greeted by the acclamations of the people, and with such wishes as 'May God increase your numbers!' 'May God restore you to your rights!' Father O'Kearney and his nephew, Father Wale, are old vessels filled with new wine, and have worked with such energy that they had to be restrained lest their health should break down. Fathers Morony and Leinich do great things also, but with more moderation and prudence. De la Field had not got a letter from Father General for five years; hence, unless letters can be safely forwarded through Father Garnet, they should be sent through the *Rector of the College of Bordeaux*, as there is a trustworthy and clever man there who can send them on to Ireland. It would even be safer, on account of

the dangers and distance, to send two copies of each letter and by different ways. Garnet says he got letters from Father General for Ireland two years ago; but they never came to hand. There is great need that the Jesuits should have special faculties here at present—the whole kingdom is Catholic, many priests have no jurisdiction and don't know where to apply for it, as they have no bishops of their own or neighbouring bishops (of England?); and as to the neighbouring vicars there is often a not very edifying controversy as to who is vicar and who is not. Thus our Fathers who induce the temporal lords to support priests are subject to very great annoyance; and, as they go through all parts of Ireland, it would be expedient to have power to communicate faculties to priests, but in such a way as not to give umbrage to any one.

"It is the custom in some parts of Ireland for those who assist at Mass to put something on the altar for the support of poor priests, who cannot in these times hold church benefices or the revenues of colleges. The Jesuits, by the advice of the late Bishop of Cork, accepted these alms in order to provide for their own wants and not to give offence or cause injury to priests by refusing them, and they desire to know from Rome what is to be done in this matter. The harvest is great here and the labourers few, and the Jesuits who are to be sent should be selected with a view to where they may be placed and occupied and supported, for the field is very heterogeneous in Ireland. Meanwhile, Fathers Gerott and Florence More should be sent from Germany; the former

is very much desired by many (in Wexford), and the latter is necessary for the North. The Germans who detain them can supply their place, and we cannot do without them. Father Archer is leaving no stone unturned to come back to this Mission, but his presence, which would be most agreeable to us, would not now be expedient for him or us; and he should wait for more favourable times. Father William Bathe has not yet arrived. Father FitzSimon has been offered leave to go beyond the seas under certain conditions. There are some useful priests who want to join the Society, and the General is asked to give leave to establish a Novitiate."[1]

On the 6th of May Holywood writes from the county of Dublin, that no letter from the General had reached Ireland since that of the 17th of April, 1599, and that two copies of each letter should be sent to the Rector of the College of Bordeaux, to be by him forwarded through two different merchants. "Sir Patrick Barnwall was this week accused before the Privy Council of disturbing the whole kingdom by saying that the King had granted freedom of religion; he produced the answers he got out of England in the name of the King, and was accordingly set free. The authorities sent soldiers to capture an Ulster Bishop who happened to be in these parts; not finding the Bishop, they took and imprisoned the gentleman in whose house he had been the night before. We expect FitzSimon's liberty every day, if exile can be called freedom." FitzSimon was freed a short time after and was hurried away in

[1] This letter is given in *Hibernia Ignatiana.*

such indecent haste that Holywood had barely time to send him some money and letters patent. The Roman theologians Vipera and Justiniani decided that our Fathers had previously received the power to communicate their faculties to other priests, but deemed it inexpedient for them to do so, especially as Archbishop O'Kearney was going over to Ireland with ample faculties.

On the 30th of June Holywood, under his usual pseudonym of "Jo. Busi," writes to his very loving "M. Claudius, marchand at his lodgings," that is, to Father General at Rome. He sends the letter by David Galwey, an alumnus of the Society, whom he had brought from Belgium with him; sends him to the Novitiate of St. Andrea, and says "he will be a most useful labourer at home as he knows English and Irish, is a Master of Arts, had distinguished himself in his scholastic career, and, having been a merchant, he has habits of business. He wishes two Irish theologians S.J. of Paris to go to Rome with Galwey; asks to have Fathers sent from Belgium to occupy the places which are promised us. The pest is raging in Dublin, and Holywood was forced to flee not only from the pest, but from the Viceroy; yet he preaches sometimes, and deals with men on whose good depends the welfare of many. "There is great hope of an establishment of ours in the North, a nobleman of the North is with me to ask for one of our Fathers, and he promises every facility for carrying on the ministry in his country; the people there are tractable. Florence More ought to be sent thither, but in the meantime Holywood will see what fruit that field may

produce. A friend had left us a little property for the use of a future College or Novitiate ; but, as the times are dangerous and nothing is safe, we ask leave to sell it, as money can be preserved more easily than land."

In the year 1604, Holywood published at Brussels his two Latin books entitled (1) *The Defense of the Decree of the Council of Trent, and of the Opinion of Cardinal Bellarmin concerning the Authority of the Latin Vulgate,*[1] and (2) *A Treatise on the True and Visible Church of Christ.*[2] He published a second and enlarged edition of these books in 1619, and he says that he had written the second while he was a prisoner for the faith in England, in order to help the ministers and other learned men who came to consult him. In the same year, 1604, he wrote in Latin a tract entitled, *The great punishments inflicted by God on certain persecutors of the Catholics in Ireland.* It embraces the period between 1577 and 1604. It was sent by Holywood to Father FitzSimon, in Belgium, probably with a view to its publication. There is a MS. copy of it in the Irish College of Salamanca, and another in the Bibliothèque de Bourgogne, Brussels, where it covers fifteen pages of volume iii. 2159. This treatise remained unpublished till edited by me in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* in 1873.

In the year 1604, Holywood gathered all his Irish Fathers in a certain place to consult about how they should proceed to meet the great wants of the country, and about the division of labour among the few who were in Ireland, while waiting

[1] This *Defensio* fills 416 pages. [2] This tract covers 32 pages.

till the Lord God should send reinforcements. The Lord Deputy heard of the meeting, and wrote a letter to the mayor of the place, threatening him, and calling the Jesuits sowers of tares and instruments of perdition. However, the Irish Catholics were not overawed by the edicts of the persecutors. All were anxious to bring a Jesuit to their houses, and thought they never could make too much of them. Two priests had been recently killed, and two more and a Catholic schoolmaster were imprisoned.[1] During all this time Holywood had secured a safe abode where his brethren could easily get access to him. This, according to a paper in the Jesuit Archives at Loyola, was at Lord Trimleston's.[2] It says, "Of the thousand seculars and regulars in Ireland, not one hundred live among the old Irish; nearly all are domiciled and supported in the houses of the Anglo-Irish lords or gentlemen, or in the towns; the Provincial of the Jesuits, with others of his Order, is living at the house of Lord Trimleston, brother-in-law of Fray Guillermo of the Holy Ghost, as will confess all the Irish Jesuit Fathers in Spain."

On the 9th of January, 1605, Holywood writes, "On the death of Elizabeth there was great commotion in Munster; as our Fathers had much favour and influence with the people, they were blamed for not taking a leading part in this religious movement, but they excused themselves by saying that they depended on the will of their Superior in Dublin, and that they were most strictly forbidden to meddle in matters of State

[1] *Hibernia Ignatiana*, p. 149.
[2] It is styled, *Raçones porque Fray Guillermo*, &c.

such as this movement was likely to end in, and that it was a thing that should be referred to Dr. White, the Vicar-General of the Province. Dr. White thought it proper to consecrate the churches, to have Mass celebrated publicly, and solemn supplications offered up. Our Fathers Leinich and Morony heard confessions and preached, and in performing these and other functions of their ministry, they had scarcely time to breathe. The Protestant ministers, thinking that their time was gone, came from all parts to them, asking to be received into the Church, but those Fathers put off their reception, to prove their constancy, and for other reasons. They did well, as most of those ministers, seeing that the Catholics were not successful, gave up all idea of becoming Catholics. A priest named William Prendergast had lived an apostate, with wife and children, for about sixty years; he enjoyed many church benefices and had persecuted the Catholics very much; towards the close of his career he was converted by one of our Fathers, did public penance, received the Viaticum, and died. Another priest, who had lived thirty years as a parson, gave up all his church livings, did public penance, and led such a good worthy life, that by my advice he was admitted to administer the sacraments, and is now, in this time of the pest, a refuge and resource to those whom he had previously scandalized by his example. Another apostate was terrified during the Munster movement, and asked to be received back into the Church, but would not give up the ill-gotten property he had acquired by his services to the Protestants. He approached

each of our Fathers separately, and finding that they would not admit him, he broke out into a rage, and said, 'I never met such cruel men. God asks of the sinner only a sigh, and you want to rob us of everything.' Having said these words, he rushed out of the room and tumbled down the steps of the house.

"The Lord Deputy came to Waterford with his troops and quartered them in that city and the other cities of Munster. By a man who was not suspected he proposed a certain oath to be taken by the clergy; our Fathers declined to take it, and had to retire from their residence. One of them went to the county of Cork and converted some gentlemen of rank there. Of these one was a man of profligate life whose country was a continual and very secure retreat of robbers and highwaymen. The Father so dealt with him that he became a new man and gave great edification in his country. Being directed to repair the scandal he had given, he erected in his lands, which extend to thirty miles in length, three gallows, one at each of the extreme ends and another in the middle, and having obtained power of life and death from the State, he assembled his people, and said, 'You know what a wicked man I have been and how I have encouraged you in the perpetration of many crimes. We must change all this; and I swear by the Holy Gospels, that if any of you in future be found committing robbery or extortion, or aiding and abetting such as commit them, he shall lose his property and his life.' He stood to his word and hanged several robbers afterwards and established such security in all the surrounding country

that our Fathers were pronounced to be great agents of reformation and were even praised as such by the civil authorities. This gentleman (or nobleman) moreover erected four churches in his lands, in which no churches had been for sixty years; he furnished them abundantly with vestments and all things necessary; he made sundry restitutions to the neighbouring gentlemen and lords. When his wife saw him often doing public penance, barefooted and covered with a white sheet, as the people were going to Mass on Sundays, she said to him one time, 'Good man, till now you have met only Father "God-forgive-you," but now you have found one who treats you as you deserve!'

"Another Father went to Limerick, remained there a month in spite of the garrison that was in it, preached twice a week to a crowded audience, heard many confessions, reconciled three wives to their husbands, a thing which others had in vain attempted; got the mayor and citizens to resolve to establish a house for widows, orphans, and the poor. A large sum of money was contributed on the spot, and the work would be now far advanced, but for the recent persecution started by the new Lord Deputy. Meanwhile the poor are provided for by alms distributed by the citizens at fixed times according to the directions left by the Jesuit. He also by his preaching put down the foul habit of drinking which the English soldiers had introduced into this island. He moreover settled some serious controversies which arose from people wishing to pay for real silver, which they owed, in the base coin imposed by Elizabeth. Some

think that this base coin has done not less harm to the inhabitants than a war or the pest. But what the Father most of all aimed at in Limerick was to confirm the Catholics in the faith, and in this he was most successful, as they have shown themselves proof against promises or threats or imprisonment. The pest rages very much in Munster, and other labourers in that province say that it is at the risk of their lives they attend to the salvation of their neighbour. Fathers Wale and O'Kearney are for the last two months with a certain sick man (the Earl of Ormond), whose conversion will redound to the great advantage of the Church. We hear the work is already done, that he has given the greatest proofs of his repentance, and that in consequence the Lord Chancellor is indignant with the Jesuits. The mayor of Dublin was deposed before Christmas for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. The adversaries had done their best to prevail on him to take it, but we foiled their efforts by our own influence and that of our friends, and the faithful of the whole kingdom are delighted at his perseverance. Father Wise is studying the vernacular (*i.e.*, Irish), Father Field is better."

At the time Holywood wrote that letter he was ill; but on the 28th of February he was better and was very much occupied. In April, Father Leinich writes "from the deserts," and says that the Fathers find it hard to get access to Holywood, they are so watched and harassed by the heretics. On the 16th June, Holywood writes from Dublin, "I see and feel that we want more men, our Fathers are burdened beyond their strength and

I cannot give them any rest before winter. Leynech and Morony I have sent to go through Connaught, I have told off Father O'Kearney to help the Vicar-General of Kildare, I leave Wale with the sick Earl whom he gained to God some months ago; Lenan is in perpetual motion; I will go in a few days from Dublin to explore new places and do what good I can. Father Fitz-Simon has written to me to say that at Rome I am expected to send some Fathers to the Orkney Islands; if I had Father Florence More, who is a native of the North, I would have a residence in Ulster, and thence I could know what hope there may be of helping those islanders, and I would not omit any opportunity of working for their spiritual welfare." On the 4th of October, Holywood says, "The King's edict was published in Dublin with extraordinary solemnity on the 28th of September, requiring all his subjects to go to the Protestant churches on Sundays and festivals, ordering the banishment of all priests before the 10th of December, and forbidding, under heavy penalties, any to harbour or help priests after that date."

He writes on December 10th: "All means have been attempted to get the citizens of Dublin to go to church; some of the principal inhabitants were imprisoned on the 22nd and 27th of November. Seeing their neighbour's house on fire, the gentlemen of Kildare, Meath, and Louth petitioned the Lord Deputy to suspend the execution of the edict till their agents should approach the King and show him that the edict contained many things that were untrue. Some of these were

imprisoned, others were ordered not to leave their houses or write or speak to any one outside their families under a penalty of a thousand pounds. A great number of soldiers have been brought to Dublin; the Deputy and Privy Councillors go about there with large escorts, and the Deputy is moving through various parts of the kingdom to capture the priests; each of the imprisoned members of the Corporation has been fined £100[1] and the other prisoners £50, and this fine is levied." Holywood appeals again to be allowed to use certain faculties that he had and to communicate his faculties to others, he gives reasons for this and says, "priests and people appeal to me as if I were a bishop." He was travelling when he wrote, and found it hard to get a person to take charge of his letter. In a postscript he writes in English, "Names of the Dublin men who have been committed: Mr. Walter Segrave, John Shelton, James Bedlowe, Thomas Plunket, Kennedy, Stephens, Tornor, Kearrol, &c. These and others were first commanded by proclamation to go to church, again by special commandment, last upon their duty of allegiance, under the broad seal, and therefore examined in the Star Chamber, fined, and committed for a contempt. Noblemen and gentlemen of the country committed: Lord Gormanston, Lord Louth (as I hear), Sir Patrick Barnwell (close prisoner), Sir James Dillon, John Finglas, Richard Netirville and Henry Burnel (both committed to their houses only, by reason of their age); these were for putting in of a petition committed." This English postscript is

[1] That is equal to about £1,000 of our present money.

marked by the Roman secretary as Irish verses, *Carmina Hibernica!* as if Holywood, who was reported as rather unfit for his post on account of his ignorance of Irish, would have tacked on Irish verses in a letter to the great Aquaviva.[1]

Holywood gives a very detailed account of the events of 1605 in a letter which I discovered in a volume of the Roman Archives, S.J.[2] He says, "The year began calmly and long continued so, though a storm was predicted and was hanging over our heads. It was believed here and in England that the King meant to grant liberty of conscience and of worship to the Irish, and we were allowed to meet and say Mass, and preach in the houses and domestic chapels of Catholics. Yet people were urging the King to impose the Parliamentarian religion on us; and we endeavoured to persuade the faithful not to give occasion for a renewal of persecution; I urged my friends not to restore or use the chapels outside their houses; I wrote to the Vicar-General of Meath, that Father O'Kearney, whom I had lent to him, should not preach in any public church of that diocese. The King proscribed the clergy, falsely alleging as his reason that they alienated the people from their allegiance. This was suggested to him by the needy English lawyers, who thrive by our dissen-

[1] The foregoing details and the letters of Holywood, from which I have given extracts, are taken from *Hibernia Ignatiana*, pp. 33, 38, 40, 43, 45, 47, 49, 50, 67, 69, 71, 81, 115, 117, 123, 127, 129, 130, 134, 137, 146, 147, 149, 155—158, 164—169, 172—175.

[2] Marked *Anglia*, MSS. 1590—1615, p. 290. I thank Fathers Purbrick and John Morris for having enabled me to consult that MS., and Father Morris and Brother Foley (R.I.P.) for many rare helps while I was collecting materials for these sketches of distinguished Irishmen.

sions, and are annoyed at priests settling the disputes of the people out of court. I thought it necessary in those times of trial to have the faithful well instructed in religion, and hence I sent Father Lenan to Dublin, Father O'Kearney into Kildare and Meath, and Fathers Morony and Leynech into Connaught. I went through divers places, and used my influence with our Catholics as well as with those who were strangers to our faith and country. Our Fathers were listened to with attention, were followed from place to place by many who wanted to hear them often ; they won the ears even of those who were accustomed to hear the polished and laboured discourses of the ministers ; they endeavoured, and, through God's help, successfully, to keep the priests united, and by so doing excited the anger of heretics, as a friend has informed us.

"Father De la Field, though always invalided, gave some exhortations in Dublin at the beginning and end of the year, assembled as many of the citizens as he could get together, directed them how to bear themselves when called before the judges, and he was partly the means of getting the Catholics to stand firm in spite of threat, imprisonment, fines, and confiscation of their properties. He prevailed on the county gentlemen to make common cause with the citizens. I took in hand a Dublin alderman and a Baron of the county of Dublin, and disposed them so well that the alderman, when brought in October before the Privy Council, openly and firmly professed the Catholic faith. The Baron, having to accompany the Lord Deputy to the Protestant church, would

not enter it and went away; he also left to my arbitration the settlement of some points of dispute between himself and his tenants, or persons beneath him in position. All were satisfied with my decision. This nobleman lives on a peninsula seven miles from Dublin, and while the Deputy was spending a month with him when the pest was prevalent in the city, they went out to hunt, and were led by the fox into the lands once owned by our Father Bathe. The Baron said, 'Alas! the owner of this and other estates abandoned all, and is now living in poverty in foreign lands; could you give an instance of such a thing among the men of your profession?' 'Oh,' said the Deputy, 'you can point to only one case in yours.' Whereupon the Baron mentioned three,[1] and among them Father Peter Nangil of the Order of St. Francis. A certain northern Catholic Baron, by the advice of his chaplain, had put away his wife (the daughter of another Baron) on the ground of the invalidity of their marriage. This caused such dissension and scandal, that not only Catholics, but Protestants of authority, tried to reconcile him to his wife, who had borne him a son. All failed, and I went to those parts, heard the views of husband and wife, and of their friends, and persuaded him to leave the decision in the hands of learned men. He chose me and the Vicar-General of Kildare, and we prevailed on him to be reconciled to his wife, and he now lives happy with her, to the great edification of that northern part of the kingdom. I got

[1] The three were Father Bathe of Drumcondra Castle, Holywood of the Castle of Artane, "Friar Nangle;" Father Barnwall, S.J., of the Castle of Stackallon, and others might be added.

a penitent of mine to give money for the purchase and gratuitous distribution of catechisms and pious books; in those households in which I took up my abode more frequently, I have arranged that such as can read will teach the articles of our faith to such as do not. I reconciled two foreigners[1] to the Catholic Church. While the pest was raging at Clonmel, our two Fathers there procured help for the sick and those who were in prison. They preached to the neighbouring peoples, went into 'Prindergast's country,' and reconciled the lord thereof and his wife; the heir rules the whole region, as his father is advanced in years. As he had been remiss in matters touching the faith, the Jesuit imposed on him as a penance to go on a pilgrimage. He went on it barefoot, to the great edification of all who witnessed it. In that place also the son of a gentleman impiously struck his father in a fit of passion, and of course was forbidden his father's presence. The Jesuit induced him to do public penance, and to beg the neighbours' pardon for the scandal he had given, after which he prevailed on the parent to take his son back into favour.

"Midnight marauders, who drive away cattle, infested that region and the country around it; they were restrained by our preaching. Two of these men were travelling by night, and found a good number of horses. One of them said to the other, with a sigh, 'Time was when such a prey would not escape us.' The keeper of the horses was frightened, and asked, 'Who is there, and what do you want?' 'We want nothing now,' said they,

[1] *i.e.*, Englishmen.

'and for that you have to thank the good men,' meaning our Fathers. Some wild young men from cattle-lifters became highwaymen, and lately robbed some travellers; being asked to deal gently with them, they said they were driven by necessity to lead that life, but that, if the Fathers would procure for them an honest way of living, as they had done for others of their sort, they would embrace it, and restore. We find the best way to get cattle restored is to have them left with a respectable man, and then to have it announced that the owners could get them there.

"In all these parts much was made of a certain class of idle and flattering men who wandered from place to place, praising some gentlemen, vituperating others, and singling out for special laudation such as had taken preys, and spent lavishly, and were liberal towards those flatterers. Hence many, who were greedy of praise or fearful of dispraise, squandered their own freely, or took away the goods of their neighbours. Our Fathers exposed the arts and wiles of those men, and encouraged the gentry to despise them, and thus forced those satirists to beg or earn their bread in some honest way.[1] The gentlemen of these counties are of old Irish descent, or have adopted Irish ways; they never arrange with tenants about a fixed rent, but stick to the ancient customs which leave everything uncertain. Thus the tenant has nothing that under one title or another the landlord may not claim, if he likes. We have in private

[1] I admit, with some feeling of reluctance, that these statements justify to a certain extent the hard things Spenser and others wrote about those bards or rhymers.

and public spoken against this abuse, and not without some hope of putting it down, as all have promised to rectify it. A certain lord, whom we had reformed, suffered great injury from a neighbour of his, and he did not wish to exact reparation by force, as he was wont to do, without consulting his Jesuit confessor. The latter went to the gentleman who had done the injury, and moved him to give satisfaction to the injured nobleman.

"The simony of the Protestant Bishops causes great disturbance in these parts; their whole object is to make money. We have brought many public sinners to repentance, and among them a man of high position, and the concubine of the Protestant Archbishop of Cashel, who did public penance covered with a white veil, and having in her hand a lighted taper. We call her a concubine because Miler (the Archbishop) had another woman alive by whom he had children, and who was called his 'wife' though he at one time was a Catholic Bishop.[1]

"The two Jesuits who had done these things in Tipperary county and its neighbourhood went into Connaught. They called to see the aged Bishop Malachy,[2] who dwelt on the banks of the Shanin River. They received an extraordinary welcome in the western province and, though endeavouring

[1] Archbishop Miler died a Catholic, and his children were Catholics.

[2] Some interesting details are given about him, but as they concern rather the history of the Irish Bishops, they are omitted for the present. I will merely remark that the date of his death, July 20, 1603, in the *Bruodin*, lib. iii. cap. 20, and Major O'Reilly's *Martyrs and Confessors*, p. 144, has to be corrected. The date given in my *Description of Ireland*, p. 287, is 1610.

to do their duty as quietly as possible, people came in crowds to ask their blessing and to go to confession. The lady of a very noble man came on foot with a great company to meet them. As they passed on, she took it so much to heart that she vowed she would not eat a morsel of food till she saw those priests again. One of the Fathers hearing this, returned, thinking that the illustrious lady had some extraordinary business to settle. As she only wanted to go to confession, he heard her on the road, and gave a blessing to the people, who departed in peace. These Fathers explained the truths of religion according as the crowds came to them, and sometimes preached four or five times a day, to the great joy of the faithful. They did solid work in Galway in spite of the heretics and the Protestant garrison there. The priests[1] of Connaught hold benefices from the Protestant[2] Bishops, attend their meetings or convocations as

[1] "Presbyteri Connaciæ," *i.e.*, doubtless *some* priests?

[2] Lest the nineteenth century reader should be too much scandalized at this, be it known to him that these "Protestant" Bishops were Connaughtmen, and therefore "cousins" of all their clannish countrymen. One of them was John Lynch Fitz-James, a native of Galway, LL.B. of Oxford, who, according to Harris' edition of Ware's *Bishops*, was said to have lived a concealed, and died a *public Papist*, and during his episcopacy from 1584 to 1611 "he so wasted and destroyed his see of Elphin by alienations, &c., that he left it not worth two hundred marks a year." Nem O'Domhnallain, bred at Cambridge, was Archbishop of Tuam from 1595 to 1609, *when he voluntarily resigned*, as I presume, to die a Papist. Owen O'Connor was Bishop of Killala from 1591 to 1607. Add to this that Spenser says in 1598, "All Irish ministers that now enjoy church livings are in a manner mere laymen, saving that they have taken Holy Orders; they go about and live like laymen, follow all kinds of husbandry and other worldly affairs as other Irishmen do; they neither read the Scriptures, nor preach to the people, nor administer Communion; only they take the tithes and offerings, and gather what fruit else they may of their livings." (Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland*, pp. 139, 140.)

they would do to Catholic prelates. The Jesuits assembled as many of them as they could, and told them such practices were unlawful. The clergy marvelled at this, but promised amendment.

"Father Walle works in and round Carrig-on-Suir, and hears numbers of confessions. Those who have given disedification there do canonical penance on Sundays and festivals, remaining covered with a linen sheet or garment during the time of Mass and sermon. A certain illustrious man had killed a gentleman. He was so penitent for what he had done, that he confessed publicly, and for nine consecutive Sundays stood covered with a linen sheet; he confessed his crime before the assembled people and begged God's pardon and the blessing of the faithful; and he left to the clergy to decide what reparation he should make to the widow of the deceased. A month before his murder that gentleman had made a confession of his whole life with great penance and resolution of amendment; the day before his death he was summoned before the Earl of Ormond and charged with not making restitution for all the losses he had inflicted on his neighbours. He said he had been with 'the holy Fathers,' and that he would according to their counsel make restitution to the last farthing. This answer from a man from whom such an answer was not expected, pleased Ormond; he was let go free, and alas, met his death the next day. The crowds who come to Mass and to hear the sermons, swarm about the doors and windows, as there is not room in the chapel; and when Father Walle, who is a man of great eloquence,

preached on the Passion, he was interrupted so often by the sobs and cries of the faithful, that he had to give up preaching, as his voice could not be heard.

"Some Protestants were converted in the month of May. At Cashel the Protestant Archbishop published the King's edict; but his own sons and his page refused to witness the publication, and the mayor and fourteen inhabitants of the town were fined by the President of Munster for not being present. A certain Catholic priest had become a Protestant minister and dignitary, and had stubbornly persevered in apostasy for forty years. He was converted by Father Walle. By a document signed and sealed by him he left his living to be disposed of by the Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, for public penance he consented to receive a flogging while he recited the *Miserere*. He died in the second month after his reception into the Church, and was buried with honour.

"Father O'Kearney was invited three or four times by a certain principal gentleman[1] who had done some damage to his neighbours. He consented to go only on condition that his words would be listened to, and he took with him a celebrated lawyer who was to write down what the gentleman was bound to restore. This man became truly penitent, in the space of one month restored four hundred and forty-six horses and cows, and told the Jesuit to look into the state of his entire country,[2] and so arrange matters that his tenants and people should not be overburdened with exactions as it often happens in the remoter parts of

[1] "Præcipuo Nobili." [2] "Ditio tota."

our island. O'Kearney made an apostolic excursion into a county[1] famous for its robberies and preys. In his first discourse to the people and gentlemen, he preached vehemently against those robbers and the lords under whose wings they were sheltered. Then turning to the Viscount and his three brothers who were present, he so set forth the enormity of their crimes, that they were thunderstruck, and after the discourse sent for the preacher, got reconciled to God and their neighbours, and, wonderful to say, by their example moved all their subjects to true repentance in the space of six weeks during which the Jesuits remained with them. The Viscount's[2] brother, not being able to make restitution, went to a meeting which was easily got together according to the old Irish customs of the nation,[3] and asked and got forgiveness of those whom he had injured; and in order to satisfy more fully to God, he resolved to go to fight against the Turks or against the heretics in Belgium. Taking with him some companions he went to Spain, was very honourably received by the King, and was put in command of two hundred soldiers, who were going into Belgium; but he caught fever in Spain and died last October. A certain Viscount had conceived an undying hatred to another nobleman, and had given practical effect to that passion, but by the influence of the Jesuit he laid aside his hatred and

[1] Perhaps "the kingdom of Kerry." O'Kearney was a great preacher. I have a volume of his printed sermons which contains about 1,200 pages.

[2] "Vicecomitis," which possibly may mean sheriff of a county.

[3] This and many other things show that the Breton Law was in force in the seventeenth century, even among the Anglo-Irish.

his arms. Terrified by a sermon on Hell and the punishment that awaits those who steal a cow or much less, a man brought the Father eight fine horses which he had taken; they were left with the parish priest and were restored to their rightful owners. This being bruited abroad through Munster, many such gentlemen came to O'Kearney and made every reparation in their power—such restitutions amounted to the value of £300.[1] Five men famous for cattle-lifting and the wildness of their carcers were frightened by a sermon on the eternity of the pains of Hell; they went immediately to the Father to be reconciled to God, and promised to give up their sinful way of life. He was so tired and sick after the sermon, that, in spite of their entreaties, he put them off to another time. They bound themselves by oath to get all the ways blocked and not to let him return to his own country without hearing their confessions. On being informed of this he took pity on them, spent two days with them and reconciled them to God, to the great content of the whole province. There is a city in Munster which for more than twenty years was divided into two factions, amongst whom there were many quarrels; but it was restored to peace by the private influences and public discourses of our Fathers. A gentleman gave his chief country seat to one of ours as a pledge that he would make restitution, and consented to have it handed over to a mutual friend until he should have made full restitution of all that he had taken away; another gentleman gave a very beautiful

[1] A large sum in those days, equivalent perhaps to £2,500 of our money.

gold cross (an heirloom in his family) as a pledge that he would fulfil an obligation of the same kind. Immense crowds went to hear Father O'Kearney during a mission in Lent in one county. In the summer he evangelized two others, and with good results, as appears from their steadiness in the faith, in spite of edicts, prisons, and fines. The people everywhere show the greatest respect and veneration for our Fathers, come out to meet them on the roads, and welcome them as they ride along. So much for the work done by our Cashel Fathers."

Father Holywood writes on the 6th of May, 1606: "On the 26th of February the Vicar-General of Dublin was imprisoned; on the 3rd of March the Marshal went to capture Father Holywood at the house of Father Curnem's sister;[1] he hanged by martial law on Good Friday a good priest, named Bernard Kearolan; and this was done against the laws of the realm, which forbids any one to be so hanged who was owner of £10, and Father Kearolan had property enough on which to live well. The Marshal, who acted under instructions, offered him his life and liberty and a good living if he would turn Protestant. Sir Patrick Barnwall has just been summoned to England to account for a letter which he wrote last December to Lord Salisbury, in which he stated among other things that the cruelty of the Executive was sowing the seeds of a new war. On Easter Sunday, very early, the royal officers went to a house where they heard a priest was about to say Mass; they half hanged a servant and then

[1] This must be Father Queitrot, S.J., of Dublin.

cruelly flogged him to make him betray the priest. He refused. They imprisoned those whom they found in the house. I am now on the borders of Meath, and while I write at midnight, I am very sleepy, as I had been dragged out of bed and put on a horse in order to escape to this place. I am sending a servant with this letter to a ship which I hear is about to sail. To-morrow I shall move to another place. The beginning of the night I had spent speaking with a Dublin alderman, who told me that the Lord Deputy strove hard last week to get all the Catholics expelled from the Corporation, but failed, as they hold their places from the body of the citizens. Attempts were also made to have the Catholic attendants of the Mayor deprived of their place." On the 17th of May, Holywood writes from the county of Meath, and again on the 29th and 30th of June from the county of Dublin. He says: "Our Fathers see that those under their care do not fall away from the faith, or even do anything unworthy of the name of Catholic, or detrimental to religion. The Archbishop of Cashel writes to me that the hearts of his people are broken with persecutions of various kinds, many are imprisoned and fined, and houses are broken into and plundered under pretext of searching for priests; horse-soldiers are quartered on the people, who, if they complain, are told they are rebels and don't go to church. I myself feel very sad and depressed in these late days at the failure of our agents who were sent to the King; but I was somewhat consoled on getting the letter of your Paternity telling me how much the Holy Father, the Protector of Ireland, yourself

and your Assistants, desire the good of this Mission and kingdom. Send us more Fathers, we want all we can get, lest the flock of Christ should diminish, of which there is danger, as the absence of Father Coppinger from Wexford was the occasion of the fall of three men of mark in that county last April. Besides, we require some Fathers to assist the people of the North, and men of strong constitutions to stand the great hardships of missionary life in the remoter parts of the kingdom. I had once, though unworthy, charge of at least five of our brethren in England, whom Father Garnet had confided to my care. I see they have hope of martyrdom there which perhaps[1] we have not, though we see priests hanged here without any form of trial. Father Duras[2] writes that our Father Gerott is such a favourite and so necessary in a college in Germany, that he scruples to allow him to come to Ireland. Let him know that at the Day of Judgment I will charge him with the loss of all the souls that Gerott might have won or preserved to God in his own country. I beg that Archer be compelled to send me William Bathe, who was promised to me long ago. I know your Paternity wishes me to send Fathers to cultivate Connaught and Ulster, but I have not men; I sent for Father Walle to go into Ulster, but found he could not yet leave the Earl of Ormond. Since Easter several priests have been imprisoned. Father Lalour, Vicar-General of Dublin, was brought from prison before his judges and charged with recognizing the Pope as his

[1] Four Jesuits had already been put to death in Ireland.
[2] Father Duras was the German Assistant.

Superior; but this is not a capital crime by the statutes of the realm of Ireland. The citizens who were imprisoned will be let out if they ask pardon and pay part of the fines; I did not think they should ask pardon, as it was the cause of God. To-day a hypothetical form is tendered to them by which pardon is asked if there be any fault. Meanwhile the authorities are growing in hatred of us, to whom they attribute the firmness of the faithful—some false brethren are always betraying everything. Father Garnet being asked by me what was to be thought of a certain Englishman who is here at present, answered, 'Beware of the priests who go from England to you, for they may be spies,[1] and some of them behaved badly here.'

"The Council of Trent was promulgated and received in the North. . . . Pray for us, for not only the authorities here are trying to capture me and my companions, but the people are very much pressed in matters of religion, and every honour is conferred at once on such as fall away. Father Strong, who has just returned from Bordeaux, was ere yesterday near being captured while, against a general order given by me, he was walking through the streets of Dublin in the daytime."

On the 27th of November,[2] he writes: "A nobleman named John de Burgo, Lord of Brittas, owner of large estates about five miles from Limerick, a worthy servant of God, and a

[1] The State Papers show that they were sometimes; Atkinson was the worst of them.

[2] I insert here some details on the same subject from Holywood's letter of December 31st.

courageous Catholic, had a priest in his house. The priest, when about to say Mass before a large congregation, heard that a great force of the Lord President's were coming; he exhorted the people to persevere in the faith, advised them to hide, and, at de Burgo's request, sought shelter himself. De Burgo took the altar vessels and retired with three retainers into his castle; but when the houses around it were set on fire, and he suffered from want of water, he put the altar-stone round his neck, the chalice in his left hand under his shield, and with the sword in his right, commending himself to God, he broke through the besiegers, killed some, wounded others, and escaped, with his men, save that a pike-thrust broke the altar-stone on his neck. He said he would have preferred being wounded rather than have the *ara* broken. He was proclaimed a traitor, and was captured some time after and imprisoned at Limerick. He was offered pardon, restitution of his lands, and preferment if he would take the oath of supremacy and go to church. He said he would not for all in the world offend God, he would not exchange Heaven for earth, and that he renounced and abominated all that the Catholic Church reprobated and condemned.

"When he was imprisoned in Dublin Castle, on account of the Munster commotions which followed the death of Elizabeth, he won from the Constable of the Castle the testimony that he was a most pious man, much given to prayer and fasting. When the edict was published last year forbidding laymen to harbour priests, he came the whole way from Munster to the Lord Deputy for nothing else

but to tell him that he could not do without a priest; and when his life was in danger while breaking through his foes, he took as much care to protect the altar vessels as to defend himself. At the foot of the gallows he besought the Catholics to pray for his perseverance, and not to follow the example of the cowardly prevaricators who complied with the demands of the heretics. (He was executed in October, 1607.)

"In the summer of the year 1606, the chief townsmen of Drogheda were excommunicated by the pseudo-primate, and in October they were imprisoned. In Dublin, since Michaelmas, two magistrates were put in prison for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. The President of Munster so afflicts the cities and towns of that province that we fear they will be reduced to deserts. As our Fathers have found it very hard to escape the clutches of enemies since the 10th of December, 1605, it is safer not to give you by letter an account of our stewardship for the present. When the royal edict was promulgated in Dublin, I called together at a certain country seat the chief members of the Corporation, told them the object and nature of the persecution, exhorted them to bear themselves bravely, and to protect the other citizens from the fury of the wolves; I said I would, if they wished, go into the city with them and brave every danger; but they dissuaded me, averring that the adversaries would be more irritated thereby, and would seize me. The Privy Council, composed of foreigners and Protestants, finding that the edict took no effect, ordered the citizens to appear on a certain day. I foresaw

what interrogatories would be put to them, and wrote out answers to all of them. The citizens, guided by this document, all gave the same answers, were insulted, imprisoned, and fined. Amongst those condemned to prison were two English Catholics, one of whom, named Marshall, had important business matters to transact for some of his countrymen. He petitioned the Deputy for leave of six weeks to wind up his business before going to prison, but was refused unless he promised to pay a certain sum of money, and to avoid all intercourse with a Jesuit or priest, and to abstain from hearing Mass. He wrote to a friend and was told he might make these promises on account of the difficulties in which he was placed. He made them and was thus enabled to attend to his pressing business. This example encouraged the Lord Deputy, and made the Dublin citizens, whose affairs were going to ruin, to desire their liberty. To these confessors of the faith I wrote on the 11th of January, praised their constancy, exhorted them to reject such conditions as prejudicial to the cause of God and dishonourable to themselves. All, except one easily-led old man, refused those conditions: and, for an example to others, I have blotted him out from the list of my friends, though he pleaded as his excuse some resolutions that the others had taken. To another captive, who on the 21st of March asked what I thought of his getting his liberty by promising to listen to the instructions of ministers, I answered that such an act would be repugnant to the certainty of faith. Alderman John Cusac shows great zeal for Calvinism, either seriously or to find

favour with the State. He got leave to bring from prison to his house John Shelton, who, in 1604, had been deprived of the mayoralty for refusing the oath of supremacy. Mr. Shelton wrote a letter which came into my hands, and said: 'I am plagued every day by ministers and discussions on religion. I answer by craving the assistance of a learned Catholic to help me to meet their arguments; this they will not allow, which I think very unfair; and they promise me honours and no small rewards if I will pass over to their side.' I was much grieved at reading this; for Shelton, though a leading citizen and a man of great courage, was not well instructed in matters of religion, as I found two years ago, when he was near being seduced by Dr. Chaloner, a Calvinist. As I could not get access to him, I wrote to him, as I did when he was dealt with by Chaloner, to show himself a good champion of Christ, to shake off the parsons, and to bid them put their arguments in writing, and to say that he would get them answered without delay. Though not having many books, and not being able to have those long, I answered all their writings at once, and thus gave Mr. Shelton time to breathe, afforded him and others more comfort and confidence, and repressed the audacity of the ministers.

"After publishing the edict in Dublin, our enemies ordered it to be promulgated in various parts of the province, and enjoined on the nobility and gentlemen to be present at such publication. I was consulted by the gentry, and advised them neither to publish the edict nor to grace its publication with their presence. The adversaries

pretended they wanted nothing but temporal obedience, and that the Catholics, if they liked, might read their Latin Offices in the Protestant churches on Sundays; and that it was a venial fault, which God would easily forgive, to temporize in order to save their cities and towns from utter ruin. I wrote antidotes to these poisonous suggestions, as was done in the days before the invention of printing. Father Lenan was appointed by me to the care of the places around on which much pressure was put; and he carried out his mission in the midst of constant perils; when in the capital he had to change his lodging every night. In private conversations and exhortations he encouraged those who were to be called before the judges, and taught them how to steer with an even keel so as not to offend against conscience or against the penal laws of Elizabeth, which are executed here with the greatest rigour. He preserved concord among the inhabitants, solved cases of conscience, wrote encouraging letters to the chief citizens, and procured pecuniary help for the poor prisoners.

"Sarsfield, mayor of Cork, and other magistrates and citizens refused to go to church or take the oath of supremacy, and were fined and imprisoned. The common people of that place and Youghal, Kinsal, and Kilmallock were driven to the church at the point of the pike.

"One of our Fathers was at Limerick for two months before the feast of St. Michael, when the new mayor was to be elected. He urged the people to choose a sincere and steadfast Catholic as mayor, and they elected a man of determination

and high spirit, who successfully resisted all the designs of the President. Having received Communion in presence of the citizens, he protested that he would lay down his life rather than depart ever so little from the Catholic faith. When the decree for banishing all the priests was delivered to him for promulgation, by the advice of our Father he refused to do so; and on the feast of All Saints he, and all the members of the Corporation, went to confession and received Communion publicly at the hands of one of ours at the very time that the city was the object of dire threats. Our two missionaries helped to settle a serious dispute which arose between the city and a magnate of the kingdom; they endeavoured, with success, to establish peace among the people and in families; and, by distributing amongst the poor the oblations or alms which are usually given at or before Mass, they stimulated others to give alms with a freer hand. As in Dublin, so in Limerick, the citizens were imprisoned or fined, and one of them who had been two years in prison lost his health through the squalor and misery of the place, and surrendered his soul to God. Our Fathers were forced by the pressure of the persecution to retire for a time from the city, but by occasional and furtive visits, by letters and private consultations, they continue to give spiritual comfort and help.

"Our Fathers of Cashel have done good and solid work. The magistrates and people of that place would have nothing to do with the royal edict, and while the Protestant Archbishop with his ministers went in his pontificals, preceded by a crier and a drummer, and promulgated it in the

market-place and affixed it to the cross, all the windows and doors were closed, and not a human being appeared in the streets to witness the affair, and during the night the proclamation was covered with dirt. For this, fifteen of the principal townsmen were summoned to Cork, imprisoned, and fined; after two months, during which they were often and vainly pressed to obey the proclamation, they were set free, but were forced to pay £120 to the officials. They were called back after some time and were badly treated, imprisoned, and heavily fined. Ultimately they were all allowed to go to their homes, except the sovereign[1] of the place, against whom the Lord President had a malignant feeling on account of his being a kinsman of Fathers Wale and O'Kearney and of Archbishop O'Kearney. He was offered liberty if he promised not to speak with the Jesuits and not to hear Mass. He refused to make such a promise; but ultimately was set free through the influence of the Countess of Ormond. Soon after that, however, officers and soldiers entered the houses of the Catholics of Cashel, valued their properties and confiscated them, and so things remained for six months; but now the soldiers have returned, and are taking away or selling whatever they find, if the enormous fine be not paid; and the President has ordered these townsmen to be taken and imprisoned for the third time.

"At Clonmel the inhabitants met and resolved not to publish the edict, and when the Protestant Archbishop went to promulgate it, a troop of horse

[1] "Sovereign" was used at this time for the chief man (or mayor) of the smaller towns of Ireland.

was sent into the town to overawe the people. All remained in their homes, even the little boys would not go to see the ceremony. The President of Munster himself came and pressed the townsmen to obey the edict; all refused, and said they would sooner lose their properties and lives; so the chief inhabitants were fined and are now imprisoned at Cork.

"About the feast of St. Catherine, a vessel from England, freighted with ministers and their wives and families, was about to land at Youghal, when it was wrecked. The dead bodies were cast ashore, and the Catholics refused to bury them until forced and fined by the President. At Dungarvan some country folk were forced into the Protestant church by the President's soldiers; whereupon their lord refused to let them live on his lands unless they were reconciled to the Catholic Church. Ten or eleven of them came to our Fathers at Clonmel, and by his directions went on a long pilgrimage, covered with white sheets and carrying crucifixes in their hands, and telling the natives, as they journeyed on, that they were doing penance for having against their conscience gone to a Protestant church. Among the confessors of the faith in Dublin prison, old Alderman James Bedlow got sick, and, by the constant entreaties of his wife, got permission to die in his home. The Marshal of the county of Kildare hanged a young student for refusing to betray a priest; I wrote to you before about the execution of Father Kearolan and John de Burgo.

"In the midst of my troubles in Leinster I have felt the finger of God now directing me, again

dissipating inextricable difficulties and blessing my labours. My patience has been sorely tried by the loss of souls and the calamities of my neighbours, but I have been much comforted by the firmness of our confessors of the faith.

"Nicholas Stephens, a Dublin merchant, being asked by the Lord Chancellor why he did not obey the edict, said, 'I have been ruined by obeying edicts;' he alluded to the edicts by which Elizabeth forced copper money for silver on the Irish people, and brought very many to utter beggary; and he hinted that he could not safely trust his soul to things to which he could not safely trust his purse. Alderman Patrick Browne,[1] for his adhesion to his faith, had often hallowed prison cells; he was told that he could stave off this persecution from himself by a round sum of money; he answered, 'I would not for any money forfeit my share of this persecution.'"

Such was the constancy of the Irish Catholics, as testified to by Holywood; in England also most of the Catholics refused the oath of supremacy. According to Lingard: "On the one hand, the oath was refused by the majority of those to whom it was tendered; on the other, it was taken by many of considerable weight both among the clergy[2] and the laity. Among the number are to be mentioned the *Catholic peers* (they amounted to more than *twenty*), who, with a *single exception, spontaneously*

[1] He spent nearly twenty years in prison. (O'Reilly's *Martyrs*, p. 189.)

[2] Though condemned as "contrary to faith and salvation" in the Pope's *Brief to the Catholics of England and Ireland*, dated September 22, 1606.

took the oath on different occasions in the Upper House of Parliament."

Birkhead, Archpriest or Superior of the English Catholic clergy, writes on the 20th of October, 1612: "Numbers of Catholics present themselves to justices, their friends, who offer the oath and bid them take it in what sense they will. They take it only in respect of allegiance, but the justices certify by bill to the judges that they have taken the Parliament oath. I am much urged to approve this manner of taking the oath: but I dare not, because to me it seemeth that therein they may be reputed *libellatici*."[1]

It was the refusal of the Irish peers and priests to take any oath whatever that raised such a storm and brought down on them so great a persecution on the part of the Protestant English in Ireland. What the temper of the English in Ireland was at that time, we learn from Sir John Davis, their Attorney General. He writes from Clonmel on the 4th of May, 1606:

"In Waterford we proceeded to levy the penalty of 12*d.* upon every person for every Sunday and holyday they were absent from church. To the aldermen and burgesses we sent the royal mandates, *yet only the mayor*, Sir R. Ayleward, would attend the justices to church. Poer, the sheriff of the shire, is a Protestant; the rest, for the most part, continue in their recusancy. All the people of Dungarvan went to church except one or two of the chief burgesses. It is better to begin with the poorer classes; they will come for fear, and then,

[1] Tierney's edition of Dodd's *Church History*, vol. v. p. cxxi. But *he did not disapprove*.

when they frequent our churches, the rich will come for shame. In Dublin both are prosecuted together with this success. Of twenty aldermen and citizens who were censured, only one is reduced; for the rest, some lie still in the Castle, refusing to pay their fines; others are enlarged, having paid or taken order for paying their fines; but of the common inhabitants of the town a great number do repair to their churches . . . with these the pain of twelve pence every Sunday prevails. This sum generally rose to ten shillings by the contrivance of those who levied it. At Cashel we found not in the gaol of this shire of 'The Crosse' above two or three prisoners, of which one was executed . . . whereupon there remained nothing to be done but to indict the recusants of that town, wherein we found only one inhabitant that came to church, for even the Archbishop's own sons and sons-in-law dwelling there are obstinate recusants.

"At Cork we called well-nigh one hundred citizens and burgesses who at the quarter sessions before had been indicted for not coming to church; we required them to pay 12*d.* each for every Sunday and holyday. . . . In Limerick, we condemned two hundred to pay the penalties for six months; in Cashel, more than a hundred. Clonmel, being in the Liberty [of the Earl of Ormond], is more haunted with Jesuits and priests than any other town or city of Munster, which is the cause we found the burgesses more obstinate. The Lord President did gently offer to spare to proceed against them then, if they would yield to a conference for a time, and become bound in the meantime not to receive any Jesuit or priest into

their houses. They peremptorily refused both. The chief were bound to appear in Cork after Easter, there to be censured with good round fines and imprisonment. Of the multitude we indicted two hundred.

"The Jesuits and priests of name that have lately frequented the town are, Nicholas Lennagh, Jesuit; Andrew Mulrony, Jesuit; Richard White, priest; Gerard Miagh, priest; William Crokin, priest. Amongst these, Nicholas Lennagh hath special credit and authority; and, which is to be noted, before that horrible treason was to have been executed in England, he charged the people to say three *Ave Marias* for the good success of a great matter, which what it was they should not know until it was effected and brought to pass. And as I got intelligence of these priests and Jesuits that resort to Clonmel, so did I learn the names of such others as lurk in the other principal towns of Munster. In Limerick these three: Brian O'Cairn, a Jesuit; Richard Cadam, Richard Arthure, priests. In Cork these: Robert Miagh, Dominick Roche, James Miagh, priests. In Waterford: Dr. White, Jesuit; Lombard, a priest. If our Bishops and others, that have cure of souls, were but half as diligent in their several charges as these men are in the places where they haunt, the public would not receive and nourish them as now they do.

"This insolency has its origin from the Jesuits, friars, and Massing priests, but is strongly supported by some lawyers, practisers at the bar, and some of the King's officers in his several courts, and all chief leading men who countenance the

contempt of the Gospel. The Council suggest a proclamation from His Majesty for 'the expulsion of the Jesuits, friars, seminaries, and Massing priests by a day, and punishing with severe penalties all their relievers and abettors, whatsoever they be. And for the lawyers, that are to be justly touched, that they be put from the bar, and all other practice of the law, and the other officers to be removed from their places until they shall enter into good bonds to come to the church.'

"My Lord President doth use his best diligence to apprehend these priests, but he findeth difficulty in it, because they do easily lurk or escape in a country where every man beareth them favour. Besides, they live in the houses of gentlemen and noblemen under the name of surgeons and physicians."

The following is Sir Henry Brouncker's return of the fines laid on in the summer of 1606, when Sir John Davys accompanied him:

"*Court of Exchequer, Trinity Term, Fourth of James I., Munster.*—Certain Fines imposed by the Lord President and Council there, entreated hither, together with the causes thereof, and here enrolled.[1]

"Whereas at the first entrance of me, the Lord President, into the government of this province, I did particularly acquaint the magistrates, chief aldermen, and burgesses of every city and corporate town here with His Majesty's express pleasure, so that they might not longer forbear to perform the outward duty His Highness expected from them, for their orderly repair from time to time to the

[1] Quoted from the State Papers, in *Life of Henry FitzSimon, S.J.*, p. 137.

holy temple and church of God, there to hear Divine Service and sermons read and preached, as becomes true Christians and good subjects to His Majesty; and so often continued the remembrance thereof unto them as I did well conceive they would have bethought themselves of the long neglect they had used, and so now have called themselves home to the show of their meet duty; but finding in them an apparent neglect not to be removed by such easy and gentle admonition, upon my advertisement thereof first into England, and soon after unto the Lord Deputy, I received a special commandment from His Majesty, under his own signature, and direction from the Lord Deputy, with instructions to proceed with them in a more strict manner, and withal his lordship sending unto me an exemplification of the statute in the second year of Queen Elizabeth, under the broad seal of this realm, bearing date at Dublin the last day of November last, entitled, 'An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, and the Administration of the Sacraments,' I caused an assembly of the Council then present, with the mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of Cork to attend me, and published the same, whereby they took precise notice of the contents of the said statute, and of His Majesty's royal prerogative in case they should rest themselves upon the pains recited in the body thereof. But this moving no conformity, they being resolved wilfully to contemn and disobey it, I proceeded immediately, according to the Lord Deputy's instructions, to send forth mandates in His Majesty's own name under the teste of His

Highness' privy signet of the province, which only required that they should, according to the statute, repair orderly upon every Sunday and holyday to their parish church or chapel, or some such like place where Divine Service and sermons were read and preached, and there to continue soberly and decently during that exercise, otherwise to incur the pain and danger of His Majesty's high indignation, and to feel the infliction of His Highness' prerogative power. And besides these mandates thus severally sent and delivered unto them, some five times, unto some four times, and to the least three times, I, with such of the Council as assisted me from time to time, have often sent for them before us, and as well laboured their conformities to the performance of their duties according to the tenor of the said mandates, and also laid open to them the damages they would run into by contemning the same. But notwithstanding all these good endeavours used by us unto them, which at many times I ceased not to work, as also by other privy means that they might have avoided further troubles and hindrances, *yet they would not yield any show of obedience* to the command of His Majesty's mandates set forth by His Majesty's prerogative. We then, considering the weight of the cause in hand, which was not to be neglected by us, however they, through lack of grace to discern what was fit to have been done, or of good understanding to direct their hearts in the obedience and duty required, convented the persons undernamed before us to see if they could give any reason for their contemptuous recusancy; who upon conference could allege nothing else but that

their forefathers had continued as they were in the Popish religion, and that their consciences tied them to the same, not one of them being able to define what conscience was. Yet to win them if it might be, or to labour the same, and to leave no means unattempted that might carry any semblance of effect in this *godly* service, we offered unto them respite to advise so as they would confer with such learned preachers of ours as we should assign to work with them; which motion or anything else that might be said or made unto them was of no acceptation, they being wholly bent obstinately and undutifully to persist in their contumacious recusancy against His Majesty's royal prerogative commanded them in the said mandates; insomuch that after many and long delays in this remiss manner, used unto them from the 14th of November last, at which time the proclamation before remembered was published, besides my frequent exhortations and admonitions preceding the same until the 26th day of February last, we then at the last time convented them again before us to understand their resolute answers, and what they or any of them could allege for themselves in defence of such undutiful contempts as they had expressed tending to great disloyalty if advantage were taken thereof, as they had informed; who being *nothing penitent of any contempt, but resolved to maintain the same as a matter of conscience*, we proceeded to the censuring of them as for contempts against His Majesty's commandments, expressed in the mandates, and imposed upon each the fines annexed unto their names, with imprisonment during pleasure, the

one-half of which fines by the judgment of the court were assigned for the erecting of an hospital in or near the city of Cork, and such other like pious uses, and the other half to the use of His Majesty; the estreats whereof followeth hereunder. Given at Cork under His Majesty's Privy Signet of Munster, the 15th June, 1606.

		£	s.	d.
Wm. Sarsfield, Mayor of Cork,	fined in	100	0	0
Edmd. Galwey, gent., . .	„	60	0	0
Edmd. Murrough, merchant, .	„	60	0	0
Thos. Coppinger, gent., . .	„	60	0	0
Henry Gold FitzAdam, merchant,	„	50	0	0
Jno. Tyrry fiz Francis, merchant,	„	50	0	0
Andrew Galwey, gent. (Exonerated because *sese conformavit*),	„	50	0	0
Walter Coppinger, gent., . .	„	100	0	0
Jeffrey Galwey, Sovereign of Kinsale, ...	„	100	0	0
Philip Roche, of same, burgess,	„	50	0	0
Jas. Meagh, „ „	„	50	0	0
Robert Meagh, „ „	„	50	0	0
Patrick Martell, „ „	„	40	0	0"[1]

Holywood writes on the 8th of March, 1607:

"I am not now in my usual dwelling-place; as my host was frightened about a month ago, I had to fly, and I do not venture to go back; all our companions are well. Sir Patrick Barnewall wrote on the 16th of December, 1605, to the Earl of Salisbury: 'The course began of sending commands under the broad seal upon duty of allegiance, for going to church, of purpose to draw men into the Star Chamber (where many aldermen and others of the better sort in this city were lately fined). This the learned in the laws there affirm to be contrary to the law, which appoints the course for the offence

[1] These sums were equivalent to eight or ten times our presen money.

committed that way, and absolutely forbiddeth all other. The invention is solely ascribed by general opinion to Sir James Ley, the now Lord Justice, a man generally behated throughout this kingdom, who in the court where he sitteth, to the great scandal of justice, denieth men the copy of their indictments, which giveth the world to think, though they be never so guilty, yet being denied the ordinary benefit of the law under which they are born, they be condemned as innocent. The execution of these laws is thought as preposterous, men's houses and doors being broken open by the sergeant-at-arms for search of their goods; and by this unlawful course of proceeding he greatly fears that even now are laid down the foundations of some future rebellion, to which, though twenty years be gone, the memory of these extremities may give pretence.'[1] So says Sir Patrick, who has since been summoned into England and is there detained. Here nothing has the force of law unless it has been passed by the Irish Parliament.

"The Dublin people were persecuted in the years 1605 and 1606. The people of Drogheda and some others have been annoyed since the month of February. The Deputy has shown himself more severe than usual, as he says such is the will of his master. On the 23rd of January, in the Law Court (which was once a monastery), a letter of the King was read, declaring that no one could plead in a court of law or be a notary without taking the oath of supremacy. They have expelled from the bench of judges Sir John

[1] The great war from 1641 to 1651 verified his forecast.

Everard, brother of our James [S.J.], a man every way worthy of his position; but he dissented from his *confrères* whenever there were any religious questions at issue. The first day of the Assizes this year is fixed on the feast of our Apostle. Thus they wage war on the saints. Barbarossa [*i.e.*, F. Maurice Wise, S.J., of Waterford] wrote to me from his native city on the 14th of January: 'Our mayor, Paul Sherlog, has been deposed; the President keeps no moderation with us, and by his exactions and fines has reduced us to beggary.' Barnaby [O'Kearney] and Nicholas [Leynagh] wrote to me from the same region on the 17th of January: 'We are dispersed, and like night robbers we long for darkness. Whatever is to be done must be done in the night-time; no place is safe for us on account of the number of our pursuers. A. [*i.e.*, Andrew Morony] and W. [*i.e.*, Walter Wale] are well, and are selling their wares.'

"If your Paternity wishes a copious harvest, see that nature helps grace, and that we may have a residence in the North composed of men of that country; for in those remote regions we cannot well direct the people, especially in these times. I feel very much now the want of him whom I lost last year [F. Richard De la Field], a man of perfect obedience, and so beloved by those with whom he lived, that his parents would hardly have mourned for him more deeply. This was not to be wondered at, as love provokes affection, and I have seen him, when expiring, more solicitous about that family than about himself. May God instil like charity into our souls!"

Holywood, under the name of J. Busi, writes on the 4th of April to the General in Rome, addressing the letter to him as if he were a *merchant at Rouen in France.* "The Deputy spent the Lent at Drogheda, in order to force the townspeople to the Protestant temple Some he exiled to remote parts of the realm, others he thrust into prison, and others he dragged by force to their polluted place of worship. The people of Drogheda are much persecuted; nor are the Munster people at rest, as I learn from letters just received from our Fathers.

"On the 1st of May, the Deputy and Council say: 'Albeit the hearts of the people be so deeply rooted in Popery, yet in Dublin and Drogheda, where we have remained five or six weeks together, they have found very good success, and have brought to the church a great number. We are confident that in these parts of the Pale we may, without fear of any dangerous sequel, hold on the course we have begun. In other parts of the kingdom it is *not so convenient* before the erection of *citadels in places of greatest moment, and preparing the minds of the inhabitants* to hear the Gospel preached and taught. The forts are in progress, and in various stages of forwardness towards completion. . . . We pray authority to publish some new and *severe* proclamation against the priests and Jesuits.'"[1]

Father Holywood writes from Meath on the 19th of June: "I have not been able to write since Easter, as I was obliged to go to remote parts, in order to keep clear of the more than

[1] Quoted in *Life of Henry FitzSimon, S.J.*, p. 169.

usually troublesome presence of our adversaries. In this retreat I devoted myself to help a very extensive diocese, and I did so at the invitation of its ruler. With our assistance he has set his province in very good order, and given it regulations adapted to the times. Andrew [Morony] and Walter [Wale] have afforded great satisfaction to those to whom they were sent, and produced abundant fruit; they are now with the other Fathers, not far from their residences [*i.e.*, in the archdiocese of Cashel]. The Deputy will go to Munster in about a fortnight on account of the death of Brouncker, the President of the Province, in which are still detained in prison those who were put up on account of their religion.

"I hear that in Dublin they only execute the statute of Elizabeth, but soldiers are saddled on the Drogheda people, who would not accommodate themselves to the times. These soldiers are supported at the expense of those who refused to go to church, &c.; and under pretence of searching for priests they break open doors at night, and rob the inhabitants; moreover, they are so religious, that on the days of abstinence, prescribed them by the orders of the King, they force those on whom they are billeted to give them roast and boiled meat. Those demons are under the command of Tanner, an English Calvinist, whom the Deputy left here in Lent, in order to corrupt the town. Under him are done such things as took place at Alexandria under George the Arian. The authors of this persecution gave out at first, that they would only deal with the inhabitants of the cities and towns; but now we see in the

Castle of Dublin respectable people who have no connection with the towns. Many men of Drogheda had been imprisoned up to this, but now they are set free on condition that they will not converse with seminarists or Jesuits. This renders it probable that these, more than other priests, promote the cause of God, and that such as have that cause at heart will do a good work, if they take care that the number of seminarists and Jesuits shall be increased—a care which he had not who dissolved that little seminary of Pont-à-Mousson."

Father Wise, of Waterford, writes on the 22nd of August: "We hope for more toleration through the death of the President, who was the greatest persecutor we ever had. Walter [Wale, S.J.] has written to you the details of that death, except this, that he took an Office and Rosary of the Blessed Virgin, and, having flung them into the fire, at once felt sick, and never recovered. Our pilot, Sacrobosco [Holywood], was fiercely pursued, but escaped; he is so accustomed to these storms, being generally in and about the court of Dublin, that he doesn't much mind such things. The chief people of the Deputy, and the nobles and gentlemen, are confirmed in the Faith by his means. Usually Lenan stays with or near him, doing his best in the same way and with great profit; Walter and Morony, the Portuguese,[1] gave a mission not far from the Castle of Dublin, where they produced very good results and won the esteem of the people. Barnaby [O'Kearney], Leinich, and I, make many an excursion, and have many a run, as the places where we dwell are more exposed

[1] Brought up in Portugal.

to the raids of the President's cavalry, which makes it its whole business to hunt us up; for all that, each of us, according to his opportunities, is working for the greater glory of God. The wealthiest people have been imprisoned, and they have hitherto behaved with the greatest firmness and constancy.

"It is reported that the King has written to the Deputy, not to proceed with so much rigour towards us; but as the English officials, who have purchased their positions, find persecution a very money-making thing, they keep it up as briskly and earnestly as ever."

On the 23rd of September, Father Wale writes: "We have nothing to say save 'persecution and persecutions'! For all that, we are well, though we can never sleep securely without fear of our pursuers, who are hunting for us day and night. We have to change our abode every day, or rather, every night, for we dare not go abroad in the daytime 'on account of the fear of the Jews.' We are most secure when we are on the mountains or in the woods, or in bogs, lakes, caves, and such places; nevertheless, we manage to visit our penitents and to support the faithful as we are bound to do. Father Morony and I went to the North last winter and spring, and thus we intend to do every year as long as we can; the other Fathers go elsewhere, in order that no part of the kingdom may be deprived of our ministry. We desire to do good to all, and no one can say that any of us is confined to any one place, unless when such a thing appears advisable to all the wise heads; and no one is a better judge of when that ought to be

done than he who stands at the helm (Father Holywood)."

Indeed, Father Holywood himself was in great danger at this time, for in 1607 the Lord Deputy wrote that, "he has laid all parts of the kingdom to learn the coming over of the Jesuit Archer, and when he understands that he is come, will soon have a watch upon Holywood, their Provincial. Thinks it fit to forbear meddling with Holywood until the arrival of Archer, in order the better to sound the depth of their treasonable plots after they have conferred." Such plots were fathered on them in that year 1607.

On the 7th of September Hugh O'Carolan makes a "discovery," and speaks of a letter brought from Rome by one Goulding unto certain Seminary priests, Jesuits, and men of note in this country by one Primate Lombard, a Waterford man born, directed unto one James Plunkett, Bishop of Meath, James Walsh, Abbot of Mellifont, Father Holywood and Father Lennon, Jesuits, and unto one Dr. White and others, their associates, to understand and know how the noblemen and gentlemen of the country stand affected, and whether they would have him, the said Primate, to deal with the Pope's Holiness, for his letter unto the King of Spain for the employing of the Irish army now in his entertainment to be sent over for their aid and better continuance in their religion. Upon receipt of which letters, the priests, Seminarists, and Jesuits were gotten together to the number of fifty or sixty to consult thereof about the beginning of this instant month, and

have dispersed themselves to collect money for this business.[1]

In 1608 an Irish Jesuit in Rome, whom I take to be Father Wale, reports that Holywood has been nearly six years Superior of the Irish Mission, and could not well go out much beyond the Dublin district except on matters of business, as he is old and lame, and ignorant of Irish, which is the universal language in Ulster, Connaught, and Munster, and is the more common speech of Leinster, as English is used in only one or two counties. Knowledge of English is required in only one or two counties of Leinster, and even Irish is somewhat used there. Some of our Fathers, though learned and prudent and holy, cannot preach in Irish, and hence can work only in these one or two counties. Others speak only Irish and can preach all over Ireland, the Highlands and Isles of Scotland, except in these one or two counties. Others speak Irish and English, and they can go everywhere. Fathers Robert Nugent, Morony, Leinach, O'Kearney,[2] Wale, Wise, and Sheyn commonly preach in Irish, sometimes in English; Holywood and Lenan preach in English.

Holywood writes in 1609: "A priest was put to death in Dublin and another in the North; two other priests and a Catholic schoolmaster were imprisoned; other Catholics have been excommunicated and put in prison for some months. If the heretics do not persecute more, it is not for love of us, but for fear of the Earls, whose future action

[1] "Discovery by O'Carolan," in *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone*, by Meehan, p. 135.

[2] His printed sermons are, alas! in Latin, and they fill a huge volume of 1,400 pages.

causes them some anxiety. Our Fathers have been most successful in restoring peace in families and among neighbours. Sir Richard Shee, who had lived a long life of turmoil and strife, was prepared for a peaceful and pious death by one of ours, established a house for the poor at Kilkenny, left large sums of money in charity, cancelled many debts that were due to him by tenants and others. Moved by his example, other men gave abundant alms, and four people, who were ready to cut each other's throats, were reconciled and live at peace. The inhabitants of twelve villages assembled to hear a Father preaching a mission, from which followed, among many good results, the abolition of 'treating' or drinking bouts.[1] In one mission of five weeks six Protestant laymen and two ministers were brought to the true fold. In Waterford, while a minister was preaching, a dog belonging to a Catholic entered the church and ran away with the supper which was to be distributed after the sermon. The Protestant ministers sometimes praise our Fathers for their learning, for teaching the catechism in the native tongue, preventing robberies, causing restitutions to be made, and reforming abuses all over the kingdom. The whole people is much attached to us, and the gentlemen vie with each other to try and get us to stay with them, while we are on our missionary tours."[2]

In this year, 1609, Ussher delivered theological lectures in Trinity College, in which he quotes

[1] "Tanta passim ad æquales haustus certamina."

[2] In *Literæ Annuæ* of the Irish Jesuits in Archives of Irish College of Salamanca, published in *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, i. 115.

Holywood thirty times and endeavours to refute him; he says in two places that Gretser quotes and follows Holywood, and that the Irish Jesuit had known Maldonatus in France.[1]

On the 4th of November, 1611, Holywood pens an English letter to Father Conway, S.J., at Madrid. He writes under the name "Thomas Lawndrie," and from his "lodgings," and prudently disguises the names of persons and places, as he fears the letter might fall into the hands of the heretics. He says: "Having understood these days past, that you were to be shortly with Claudius,[2] I thought good to take the first opportunity to write to you and to him, although within this last fortnight I have been for twelve or thirteen days continually troubled with mine indisposition (cold and hot fits continually succeeding each other), and constrained to keep my bed. That you may understand the better how things go, I have dismissed my Admonitor,[3] and suffered him to repair to his country and yours,[4] where he is assisted by two workmen that desire to wear our livery. If you can pick out any of ours there that hath the Irish tongue of that country,[5] it will be well done to send him to help the good old man, whose charity impels him to work beyond his strength. I have diminished his external mortifications, seeing his age is scarcely able to bear what younger years could. To the south of your

[1] Ussher's *Complete Works*, edited by Elrington. See Holywood and Sacrobosco in the Index.

[2] Father General. [3] Father Gerott. [4] Co. Wexford.

[5] This points to marked differences of dialects in Ireland; but I am sure the people of various provinces and the Irish and Highland Scots understood each other then, as Father Galwey, a Cork Jesuit, gave missions in Ulster and in the Scottish Isles.

country and about Bowmanstown[1] Mr. Barnaby[2] is in charge, having under him Morris Briones and his nephew Hart. Of the west part of the southern province, Nicholas[3] hath care, assisted only by Shine and Bourk, save what help he hath of Andrew[4] when he is there. We expect Haly, when he shall end his studies, and Nicholas[5] promised to procure him Viaticum. . . . Mr. Nicholas[5] and the Vicar-General of his town,[6] Mr. Arthur, would have Bourk take orders here and help as he may. The charge of Thomas Kieran's province[7] I have given to Andrew,[8] as he is learned and prudent, but for so much as he hath to look after his benefactors the young man Kieran is often left alone, and therefore I have written to our Monitor to confer with the Consultors how this may be remedied. I have also written to Kieran himself to see whether he may procure Viaticum for Father John Brimingam from his friends, for if so, then will I move for him to Claudius.[9]

"To the rest I look immediately myself, save that I have given some care to Patrick. In Nugent's country,[10] I have himself and Galwey, who are assiduous in their work, as hereabouts are Patrick,[11] and James,[12] the elder James;[13] the younger is my secretary. Our Cusac is resting from work this year and going over subjects which he had not studied in the schools, so as to be

[1] Father Archer's town, or Kilkenny.
[2] Father O'Kearney and his nephew Father Wale.
[3] Leynach. [4] Morony. [5] Leynach.
[6] Limerick. [7] Of Connacht. [8] Morony. [9] Father General.
[10] Father Robert N. of the diocese of Meath. [11] Lenan.
[12] Everard, S.J. [13] Saul.

better prepared for every kind of labour. In a certain town of the province of Father Florence More, or in 51, 51, 59,[1] John Barnwell will soon take up his residence, please God, where he will have as companion one who wishes to enter our Society; as soon as I shall find that he is able to keep another there or near him, I will give him a fellow of our own. In the meantime that must be what may be, and I will look so to things as there shall grow no great inconvenience hereabouts.

"The last proclamation for matters of religion being put in execution everywhere by the superintendents and other officers causes men of your sort to be more wary and private. Since Easter there have been committed to the Castle of Dublin a Bishop and five priests, where also lieth in durance for their conscience the Sheriffs Walsh and Hacket, with small hope of liberty during his time that committed them. At the last quarter sessions held at Kilmainham, about the 15th of October, were by Sir James Kerrol, Sheriff of the Shire, gentlemen of good sort presented for not going to church. About the same time at Drogheda did the Primate threaten to proceed by way of excommunication against the best men of the town if they would not conform themselves and go to church. Similar things are done elsewhere also, as you may imagine.

"Patrick (Lenan), Andrew (Morony), and Nicholas (Leynach), are the great sinews of our Mission and of longest continuance here, of whose fruitful labours, in great variety of times, I have been myself an eye-witness these eight years. Patrick

[1] Ulster or a town in Ulster. More was an Ulster man.

studied his humanity here and at Oxford, Master of Arts he proceeded in Douay, and Bachelor of Divinity in Louvain, where he studied five or six years under Father Leonard Lessius and Doctor Stapleton of happy memory. As for Andrew, his learning and virtue are to Claudius sufficiently known. Nicholas has great zeal and watchfulness, is circumspect in undertaking, and energetic in carrying out his business, and I durst trust him with a matter of moment rather than another perhaps of greater speculation; and truly when I heard him preach in a public assembly he gave me great satisfaction. One of ours, Robert,[1] being returned from fructifying in the North reports that the Protestant superintendents doth turn out of their benefices such of our clergy as will not be conformable to their proceedings, as their General Vicar of Armagh wrote to us lately. . . . As for Dean and Chapter, I fear there will be none, or so uncertain as may be, now of both the Catholic Bishops that were in the North Devanne being taken, and Boile, as it is said, dead. As for our neighbour Mission,[2] when Claudius first acquainted me with his desire, wishing that I should give the Superior thereof two of mine. I had but six, whereof two could not speak the language, and the other three were spent, or at least broken, weak and sickly, and not able to undergo so difficult an enterprise; a thing the Superior himself, at his being here, saw, and therefore motioned for none of them. Yet understanding that Claudius still continued his desire in this behalf, I concluded with the Superior, a little time before his

[1] Bathe or Nugent. [2] Of Scotland; it could not be England.

departure hence, to assist him with the help of others, which I proposed to send for, and came since; he in the meantime promising one of his own with instructions to conduct them, whom till March we still expected. In the Holy Week, upon Wednesday or Thursday, the instructions that came from the old man being received with a letter signifying that Claud had put all over unto us, with the greatest speed that might be conveniently made, we sent to sound the way and see what might be done—of which labour some fruit hath been already gathered, and more will, if it shall please God; but of this matter the less noise the better.

"The new prior of 58, 54, 41, 49, 47, for the common good is willing and desirous to resign up that living for the foundation of a college; what it is you may learn of Nicholas which came later from St. Andrew's with Morgan, and his brother Robert will make shift to pay what shall be requisite for despatching that business. . . . As I was closing up this line I was told by a gentleman of good sort that came from Dublin, that Mr. Barnsby, the English priest which was lately taken upon his landing, offered my Lord Chancellor to take the new oath of allegiance (so much contradicted there with you), adding he thought him no good subject that would refuse the same. Such men will do us little good, for our lords and gentlemen hath been greatly threatened since July last to be put to this oath, on which matter I have been often consulted not only by ours here and out of Munster, but also by others. Yet one thing fell out well, to wit, that my Lord Deputy being

advertised of the aforesaid proffer made by Mr. Barnsby, and the Chancellor requiring therein his pleasure, he answered, 'He will swear anything, I will not grace him so much as to put him to the oath.'

"Mr. Woxell[1] in his last named five ready for us, and as he writeth *omni exceptione majores*, whereof Lumbard, as I understand from thence, is advertised by Claudius to come. . . . There came into my hand not long since a letter written by a friend in Drogheda, certifying it to be credibly reported that Knox, the Governor of the Red Shanks (him as the King terms his swaggering Bishop, and this summer he being in Dublin did his endeavour to induce the State to a bloody persecution), after taking view of the bishoprick or lands given him in the North, committed on his way homeward a sacrilege not left altogether unpunished. Knox visited the superintendent Bishop of Derry, an Englishman named Babbington, and was requested by this man that as he did pass through Colerain he should enter a little church by the way, wherein a fair picture or image of the Blessed Virgin was. Knox commanded his men to go and pull down the said image, which his people loathing and refusing to do, he ascended himself and pulled down the image, and caused a great fire to be made in Colerain and the image to be cast therein. The image was long in the fire and took no hurt, a second fire was kindled, and it took no great hurt. Knox caused great holes to be bored in the image, and put powder, tar, and small dry sticks in them, and so burned

[1] Father Archer, S.J.?

the image. That same day the Bishop of Derry suddenly died, being in perfect health an hour before; soon after Knox took shipping to go for Scotland, was overtaken by a foul storm, and since nothing hath been heard what became of him. The church wherein the image was is but six miles from Colerain, wherein remain to this day many monuments of the several miracles wrought by visiting thereof. My cousin Gilbert Lambint with several others of this town hath seen the monuments, and say that in their lives they never saw so fair an image. So far the letter; and this I write because I hear it talked of and partly acknowledged by the Protestants themselves. So pray give my salutations to our Primate Peter (Lombard), to our Cardinal Robert, whom I knew at Ferrara and Padua, to my former colleagues Mr. Anthony Maria Manù and Mr. Paul Valle, to the latter of whom I am very thankful for his kindly using Hart[1] as he passed by there. Since the writing hereof I spoke with one that was in Drogheda the other day, who says it is held for certain there that Knox is drowned, he for whom the poor inhabitants of the island durst not almost look upon any that might acquaint them with the ways of their salvation. James Sall[2] also telleth me more that he was in Colerain himself at the burning of the image in the manner aforesaid."

In 1612 Holywood says: "As we live under persecution, we cannot, with safety to ourselves, send a full, open, and exact account of our doings to the General; and as our letters might be inter-

[1] Father Walle. [2] A Jesuit.

cepted by Protestants, we must suppress or change the names of persons, and the dates and places of events. Edicts have been published for the banishment of priests, imposing fines and imprisonment for harbouring them, or for not going to the Protestant churches. In the next Parliament a Bill is to be brought in to hang, draw, and quarter all priests that are found in Ireland forty days after the new law of proscription, or that return home after being banished. A layman who harbours or helps a priest is to be fined a thousand florins for a first offence, to lose his liberty and property for ever for the second, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered for a third offence. I intend to write a full and special account of the martyrdom of Bishop O'Devany and his companion. The holy Bishop, a short time before his capture, forwarded to me the names and dates of death of *all* the bishops and priests whom he knew to have been executed since the death of Primate Creagh, and he asked me to investigate their lives and actions and save them from oblivion. Hence, as soon as I heard of his death, not being far away from the scene at the time, I believed that he, who was so anxious to preserve the memory of our martyrs, had received the crown of martyrdom himself. At Easter-tide a priest was captured by the Chancellor, another in the month of May by the Sheriffs of Dublin, and two more priests were seized by others. They were imprisoned, and all four, with a priest who had been in prison for a year, were driven into exile. One of them was offered liberty under a certain condition, but was advised by our Fathers to reject it. Very many

Catholic jurymen of Meath and Munster were brought before the Lord Deputy, Privy Council, and Judges, and were fined heavily and imprisoned. The Westmeath Grand Jury were fined five thousand florins or French *livres*. One of my friends was asked at Kilmainham what he had to say for himself, and he said he was ready to pay the fine, if it were distributed to the poor according to the letter and spirit of the law. They put the oath of supremacy to magistrates in order to deprive them of the magistracy. At Trim and Philipstown, one of the chief men of the kingdom, two knights, and other gentlemen, refused to take the oath. The Protestant Bishop of Down, a Scot, by cumulative fines, was trying to bring the Catholics to church or to beggary, but his sudden death prevented the accomplishment of his wicked designs. His predecessor was an Englishman named Tod, who had been a student in the English College of Rome, became a bankrupt in faith and morals, and repudiated his wife and lived with his servant-girl. In Wexford county parents and godfathers are fined when children are baptized by a priest.

"In 1613 the Catholics of the county of Dublin were called four times before the magistrates, and pressed by promises and threats to go to church and take the oath of supremacy. This was done to rob them of their religion or to impoverish them by fines. Our Fathers had to hide themselves, and sought shelter where they could. One of them from our Meath residence went into the North, and even to the most remote islands of Scotland, where the Catholics had not heard Mass

for fifty years. When his presence was felt by the heretics he was tracked and had to return to Ulster. He went through that country doing all the good in his power. A minister's son was converted by him, burned his Protestant books, and devoted himself to teaching the catechism to little children, in order to atone for the harm he had tried to do to grown-up Catholics. A lady was also converted by our missioner. She had educated the daughters of a dynast of that country, and had instilled into them the principles of Protestantism. After her reconciliation to the Church she gave herself up to teaching catechism to the Catholic children. Another Father visited the north coasts and islands of Connaught, and during the Lent his sermons were attended by about eighteen hundred people."[1]

The dangers of capture to which our Fathers were exposed in this year may be imagined from the fact that, from the report of a spy, all their places of abode were known to the Government. There is in Trinity College[2] a paper labelled, "November, 1613. Names of Sundrie Priests, etc.: In the county of Dublin, Christopher Holywood, Provincial of the Jesuits, James Sale, John Cusack, Richard Lenan, Robert Bathe, Jesuits." It gives the names, and, generally, the precise places of abode of twenty-six members of the Society. Another report of 1613 says Holywood and Robert Nugent, S.J., "are for the most part in and near the borders of Westmeath, and reside

[1] Jouvancy, in his *Historia S.J.*, gives these extracts from Holywood's Annual Letters.

[2] MSS. E. 3, 15.

chiefly in the Pale of Leinster."[1] In 1615 the Commissioners report, among the "names of such Jesuits and eminent priests as are appointed by the Pope, and exercise jurisdiction in Dublin," Holywood is kept and harboured by Sir Christopher Plunket; Everard, brother to Sir John Everard, resorteth to this city, and is secretly harboured; Lennon, a famous priest, is kept by Nicholas Netterville.[2] This Sir C. Plunket of Dunsoghly was Holywood's kinsman, and the father of one or two Jesuits.

While Holywood was being tracked by the heretics at home, he got published at Paris his Latin work, *De Meteoris*, brought out under the pseudonym of John Geraldine, and dedicated to his kinsman, Sir Edward Fitzgerald of Teacrochain. It is in Trinity College Library, and a marginal entry, at page 3 of *Epistola Dedicatoria*, in a contemporary hand, informs us that it was the work of Holywood, a statement which is confirmed by the English Jesuit Southwell.[3] It contains three hundred and eight pages, and an Index of twenty-two pages. It was written in early life, as he calls it, *primitiæ laborum meorum*, and was revised in 1612; the Epistle Dedicatory was dated from his *Museum*. At page 213 he says: "In our Ireland, in the counties of Kildare and East Meath, there was a rain of blood in 1610 and 1611, as we have heard from eye-witnesses, one of whom, Mr. John Coppinger,[4] observed the phenomenon most atten-

[1] MSS. Trin. Coll. Dublin, pt. iii. p. 8.
[2] D'Alton's *Archbishops of Dublin*.
[3] *Bibliotheca Scriptorum S.J.* art. "Sacrobosco."
[4] *A Jesuit in Ireland*.

tively. If it be an omen, God grant it be an omen of good!"

In 1614, the delegates from the Catholic and anti-Catholic parties went over to England, and laid their respective views before the King. "James found the case of the Catholics upon the question of the invalid elections too strong to be ignored; he rated them well, in a long rambling oration, as incoherent as it was flippant."[1] Among other things, he said: "You and your nation are hostile to my religion and myself, and are, moreover, most obstinate Papists; nay, in despite of the laws of the land, you make it a boast that you are attached to Popery and to Rome above any other people. You will not frequent our churches, you will not listen to our sermons. You have in Rome, Peter Lombard, whom you call Doctor, and in Ireland, Christopher Holywood, who inculcate the necessity of sending your sons to foreign colleges to teach them rebellion, and to confirm them in their hatred of me."[2] Lord Delvin and Sir Christopher Plunkett, and others of the delegates, were kinsmen of Father Holywood, and knew very well that he did not wish Irishmen to rebel against and hate James I. Dr. Oliver says, "This drunken, voluptuous, hollow, rotten-hearted, pedantic, and bigoted sovereign had expressly denounced Holywood in his speech on the 1st of May, 1604." The Scotch Jesuit, Creitton, wrote on the 4th of June, 1605: "Our Kyng had so great fear of ye nombre of

[1] Walpole's *Kingdom of Ireland*, p. 192.

[2] Cardinal Moran's edition of Lombard's *Commentarius de Regno Hib.* Preface, p. lvii.; O'Sullivan Beare's *Hist. Cath. Compendium*, p. 324; *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 627; Porter's *Eccles. Annals*, p. 270.

Catholikes, ye puissaunce of Pope and Spaine, yatt he offered *libertie of conscience*, and send me to Rome to deal for ye Pope's favor and making of an Scottish Cardinal, as I did shawe the Kyng's lettres to F. Parsons."[1]

On the 14th of August, 1615, Holywood reports that many Catholics are going over to the heretic camp, not for love of a heresy, which they abhor, but from fear of fines, imprisonment, and other vexations. Out of eight lately brought before the Commissaries two only were firm, of whom one had to pay a fine which almost overwhelmed him, and another, not being able to pay, was condemned to prison for life. In the South, however, where Father Shee lived, most of the better sort were firm. The poor alone yielded to force, and this so struck one of the Commissaries, that he became a Catholic.

In 1616, one of Holywood's companions, Father Nicholas Nugent, was taken prisoner at the house of his kinsman, Lord Inchiquin, and was imprisoned in Dublin Castle for four years. While in prison he composed pious Irish hymns, which became very popular, and were sung throughout Ireland.[2] Bishop Roth tells us that the Baron was fined £500,[3] and imprisoned for sheltering him, and that the merchant in whose ship the Jesuit had come to Ireland had all his property confiscated.[4] While Nugent was in prison he brought about the salvation of many.[5]

[1] Oliver's *Collectanea*, pp. 36, 37.
[2] *Sketches of Nugent's Life*. By Franco, Nadasi, and Patrignani.
[3] Cal. of State Papers, *Ireland*, an. 1615, p. 318. This would be four or five thousand pounds of our money.
[4] Rothe's *Analecta*, p. 55. [5] Jouvancy's *Historia S.J.*

In 1617, Holywood reports: "On the 13th of October the Lord Deputy decreed that an informer, on discovering any one to have harboured a priest, was to get half the fine. I lament the loss of Father John Barnwall, S.J., who had ever been a model of every virtue.[1] Dr. Christopher Cusack, President of Douay, came to Ireland recently, was amazed at the improvement of the Catholics in his country, and attributed it to the work and influence of our Fathers there. Last year I sent two of ours to give missions in Longford and Leitrim, and, as a venerable priest of these parts told me, the people would have succumbed in the persecution that followed, were it not for the impression produced on them by the missions. I sent three thither this year, charging them to proceed cautiously on account of the greater and peculiar perils of the time. They asked the Vicar-General to write to the gentlemen of those counties to know would it be safe for them to be visited by the Jesuits. The chief men of one county replied that it might excite the State, which was already looking for an opportunity of confiscating their properties. The gentlemen of the other answered: 'Rev. Sir,—You have written to us to signify that the Fathers of the Society, who are very dear to us, are somewhat afraid to visit us this year, lest they might compromise our temporal interests. We earnestly beg of you to

[1] He was son and heir of Robert Barnwall of Stackallon Castle (Seigneur de Stacalon); his mother was Dame Alsona Brandon. He resigned his inheritance to a younger brother. See my Chronological Catalogue of the Irish Jesuits in Brother Foley's *Records*, vol. iv.

bring them at once, since their instructions and admonitions are very necessary for our comfort and constancy in religion ; if we should experience the displeasure of the Government on account of our intercourse with them, we hope God will be better pleased with us,' &c. However, our Fathers, not wishing to expose those Catholics and themselves to manifest danger, went to cultivate the faithful in other regions. In one of their missions they gave Communion to eight hundred people. Then one of them went to console the Irish Scots who dwell in Ulster. The steward of the Baron of Belfast, and the Marshal of the district, suspected he was a priest, as, in place of putting up at the public inn, he went to the house of a Catholic. They planned his capture over their cups ; the steward's wife, though a Protestant, warned him of his danger. As the night was dark, and the roads unknown to him, and as his horses were in the steward's stable, he put his trust in God, and remained where he was. In the morning, while his two enemies were buried in a drunken sleep, he got his horses and escaped to his Scots, preached every day for three weeks, heard very many confessions, and converted four Protestants. Thence he went through other parts of Ulster, where he heard the confessions of some English Catholics, and brought a certain man of position to the fold of Christ ; and having returned to his own quarters in Meath, heard many confessions there, and converted one heretic ; and finally, at Christmas, he was sent to a certain illustrious family, which was not of very strict observance, and by his frequent exhortations put a stop to

the evil practice of challenging each other to drink.[1]

"One of our Fathers was called by the poor the 'fountain of mercy' (*Tobar na trócaire*). A wealthy farmer, who had been robbed and beaten, went for redress to this Jesuit, got back his property, and forgave and shook hands with the robbers, whom he might have got hanged.

"The tenants in some parts have gone in a body to their landlords, and threatened to leave their farms unless they were exempted from the ever-increasing fines for not going to church. They could not pay those fines, and would prefer to go with their families to beg their bread.

"In the country parts, crosses of wood are put on the road near the house of a dead person, with an inscription asking prayers for the souls of the faithful departed. These crosses have been destroyed this year, and the priests and the carpenters who made them have been fined and imprisoned.

"Montgomery, the Scotch Bishop of Meath, got married a second time, pleading that though 'a bishop should be a man of one wife,' 'it is better to marry than to burn.' Kirby, the English minister of Mullingar, having a wife in England, took another in this country, and Bucley, who in England had married his deceased wife's sister, and had come over here to escape the consequences, was robbed of all his wealth, and was murdered.

[1] "Æqualium haustuum usus." I do not know the English or Irish equivalent for this, but it seems to mean the practice of drinking glass for glass till one, or all but one, of the parties got drunk. It was said to have been introduced by the English.

"Protestants of great account profess to esteem our Fathers for the perfection of their solid learning. The Lord Deputy's wife, though a strict Calvinist, asked a nobleman to bring a certain Father to her place, and promised that he should incur no risk going or coming. Those Catholics who go, or promise to go to church, are fewer than could be expected, and are all of the very poorest class. We do not admit them to the sacraments till we have fully instructed and tested them, and hence, when they are pressed again, they refuse to go to church. One of these poor people, who had suffered great losses for the Faith, when being consoled by one of our men, said, 'Father dear, I don't care a bit about my losses, when I recollect that what I paid I gave to God, and not to the Protestants.' An official, taking pity on a poor man who had paid a fine, said he should get back his money if he did what was asked. 'Thank you, sir,' said he, 'but I prefer to lose that money than to lose Heaven.'

"Last year the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin excommunicated the principal citizens, and they were either imprisoned, or had to seek safety in flight; his brothers of Armagh and Meath fulminated an excommunication against the chief inhabitants of two towns. Being advised by a lawyer to take a certain method of evading the dangers hanging over them, the inhabitants asked me if they could use that means, adding that they were prepared to brave every risk. I saw that the thing was not wrong in itself, and might in such a case be lawfully done. This answer secured them in their consciences and in their properties;

and one of them asked the Commissary, 'How can you excommunicate us who have never been members of your Church?' And on the Englishman saying, 'We'll soon force you to be members of it,' he replied, 'I tell you all that I would sooner lose my whole property, and my wife and children, than renounce my religion.' In a town six miles from Dublin, a Protestant carpenter being remonstrated with for working on the feast of St. Catherine, virgin and martyr, called her a —— witch, and had hardly uttered the words, when bringing his axe down on a beam of timber, he cut his foot, and died soon after.[1]

"In Munster, persecution grew hotter in 1617. The new Lord Deputy, Sir Oliver *St. John*, boasted that he would suppress Popery by three years of firm government; he was encouraged to work for that end by a minister who preached before him on the text, 'There was a man sent from God whose name was *John*.' Francis Acland, Marshal of the county of Tipperary, broke into our chapel at Cashel, destroyed the pictures and statues, made a stable of the chapel, and captured a priest. In another town our Fathers escaped by hiding in the house next the jail, as they knew that it would be least suspected. The heretic Bishops display great zeal in restoring ruined churches *at the expense and by the labour* of Catholics. Our Fathers are so hotly pursued that, in order to keep at large and perform the functions of their ministry, they have to travel by out of the way paths, and go

[1] The facts of 1617 hitherto related concerned the Dublin Residence, over which Holywood had immediate supervision. I give very few extracts from his account of the persecution in the South.

over walls, hedges, and through woods, and to sleep on straw in cornfields or old ruins; and they always sleep in their clothes in order to be ready to escape. When seventeen Waterford jurymen were fined and imprisoned, our Fathers, affronting every danger, went about encouraging other Catholics to collect money to pay the fines, which they most willingly did.

"The people are accustomed to gather from great distances, even from parts twelve Irish miles away, to be present at a Mass for the dead or for a priest's first Mass; on which occasions a sermon is always preached. This year our Fathers had to carry out such functions as privately as possible. Many Protestants were converted this year. On the indulgenced festivals of the four Patrons of Ireland, SS. Patrick, Columba, Malachy, and Brigit, great crowds came to confession. A Sodality of the Blessed Virgin was established at Waterford, and numbers already over fifty of the chief citizens.

"On St. Valentine's day, Patron Saints, which the Irish call *valentines*, are drawn for the year; crowds came to receive them, and promised over two hundred thousand acts of devotion, such as saying three Our Fathers, or the Rosary every day, or giving alms once a week, &c. Our Fathers of East Munster sent seven students to the Colleges on the Continent; at the great risk of their lives they performed all the functions of parish priests, baptizing, attending the dying, and visiting prisoners condemned to death. In our West-Munster Residence our five Fathers had hard times, as the soldiers were on their track to

capture and hang them by martial law. However, at Easter-time, they ventured out more boldly and preached. At Clonmel, one of them preached for three hours on the Passion in a large hall, and was not interfered with by the soldiers, as an armed band of young men was placed to guard the house from any attack.

"In the county of Limerick there was an octogenarian who had been a minister for forty years and had never denounced Catholics, but had often defended them before the pseudo-Bishop and others. He got ill, sent for one of our Fathers, and said that he always abhorred the heresy of which he became minister only through necessity and poverty. He gave up his 'ordination' papers, and was reconciled to the Church before many witnesses. In the county of Tipperary, the jurors, at the earnest admonition of our Fathers, refused to find against their fellow-Catholics, and thus gave courage to the jurors of the neighbouring counties. They were accordingly conducted by soldiers to Dublin and imprisoned.

"In a certain city,[1] fourteen years ago, a tradesman died, leaving by will a great part of his earnings to be spent in drink at his wake by the leading men of his own and other trades. This became the fashion of mechanics ever since. Our Father, being appealed to by tradesmen's wives and others, assembled the heads of the trades, showed them how abominable that custom was, and it was suppressed by his influence.[2]

[1] Cork, as I think.

[2] One of Cromwell's soldier-saints, purifying his intention, left by will a sum of money to provide Irishmen with whisky and knives at his wake, that they might make merry and murder each other.

"A sea-rover, who had infested the southern coast of Ireland and had plundered and murdered many, was wrecked, and lost most of his crew. While imprisoned at Cork, he remembered the old times when he was a Catholic, and asked to see a priest. Those who brought him to Cork went for a priest; but no priest would go, either suspecting a trap, or afraid of the soldiers on guard, or of the foulness of the prison. Our Father was absent from Cork at the time, and when he heard of this, he passed well disguised through the guard, reconciled him to the Church, and next day gave him Communion. The day after a parson went to him, and, by hope of liberty and threats of death, tried to get him to join in his prayers. The pirate's companion seeing him hesitate, entoned a Genevan hymn on the spot, was set free by the judges, and now pursues his old trade of a sea-rover. But our pirate chief professed that he was a Catholic, and that no torments would make him swerve from his faith. While he was led through the streets, he was urged by the captain of the escort to give in, and not to throw away his life; he said, that if he had a thousand lives, he would give them up rather than surrender his religion. He was taken to Youghal and was argued with on the way. While bound hand and foot in prison and challenged to defend his faith, he said he would not commit the certain truth to the uncertain issues of disputation; he was told that he had been corrupted by a Jesuit, and on being searched a rosary was found round his neck, which had been given to him by our Father. The pseudo-deacon of the place brought him from a very powerful

person a promise of the reprieve and perhaps the remission of his execution if he would conform. He refused, and on the deacon's expatiating on the terrible death that awaited him, he replied: 'It is only an affair of half an hour at most, and I hope God will forgive me and bring me to a happy eternity.' When he was under the gallows he accused himself of having led a pirate's life for eighteen years, begged of the Catholics to forgive him in their mercy, and to pray to the God of mercy for him that he might bear patiently the punishment about to be inflicted on him for his crimes and for his creed. He was hanged in chains, and remained hanging for half an hour before he surrendered his spirit.

"A wealthy merchant of Cork and his wife for three days had taken no food or sleep, as their only daughter was given over by the doctor and was dying. The Jesuit Father happened to call in, was brought to the chamber of death, and found a number of women watching the moribund girl. He read the Gospel over her, put relics round her neck, and she began to look joyful and to speak. She got perfectly well that evening, and, after a discourse preached by the Jesuit the next morning, she went about doing her household duties as well as ever.

"An English gentleman put into Cork Harbour with several ships; many men of his crews were converted to the faith, among them one of his immediate *entourage*. An octogenarian minister was also reconciled. A robber, who was about to be hanged and had previously gone to confession to our Father, was asked by a parson if he would

join them in prayer, and said: 'Begone, minister of the devil, I hate the sight of you and the sound of your voice.' The crowd laughed at the minister, and the man was hanged.

"Our Fathers worked through every part of Connaught in this year 1617. As many priests were captured in the various counties, the others were terrified, and as one clergyman of a certain town was taken prisoner, all the rest sought safety in flight.[1] One of ours, learning this, entered the town to cultivate the deserted vineyard. The priests hearing of this intrepidity came back to their duties. One of our Fathers on his missionary tour drew immense crowds and preached so efficaciously that those who under the heavy pressure of persecution had gone to church, and they were not few, came to ask forgiveness. He consented to reconcile them to the Church; but made them go on various pilgrimages with white crosses in their hands and white sheets around them as signs that they were doing penance. They were only too glad to be reconciled to God and their countrymen on these conditions. Another Father, by his preaching and influence, in a great measure suppressed gambling and drinking, and converted a very stubborn English Protestant.

"The prisoners and such as were condemned to death were attended to by our missioners, and on one occasion a Father in disguise got to five men who were to be hanged and gave them instruction and all the sacraments. One of our men spent six

[1] This was a rare thing with Irish priests; only two or three cases are mentioned in the Jesuit Correspondence, which covers two centuries.

days in the Arran islands teaching the catechism and administering the sacraments, and, with other things he did among that primitive people by the power of his preaching, he converted a celebrated septuagenarian gambler."

In 1618 our Fathers deemed it prudent to avoid the cities and towns and to cultivate remote districts; sometimes had a thousand assembled to hear them and receive the sacraments; found among their hearers the sick who had been brought by their friends. They advised the people not to come in such numbers, visited them at their villages and homes, appointed youths to prepare the way by teaching the Irish catechism in hamlets and houses. There were many such youths in the country districts, not so in the towns, as the paternal Government gave boys whose fathers had died to be educated by Protestant teachers or tutors, and afterwards would not allow them to enjoy their inheritance unless they took the Oath of Supremacy, and promised never to become Catholics. There were so many spies and detectives at work, that gentlemen who harboured priests were afraid to let their friends come to hear Mass. In 1618 a man came to the house of a gentleman, and, when asked what he wanted, said, "I'm a convert to the Catholic faith, and I want to hear Mass." After Mass, when the people had gone away, he produced his warrant and summoned the gentleman to Dublin for the next day, to answer for having harboured a priest. Another priest-hunter met a priest in a wood, pulled him off his horse, gave him six blows of his sword on the head and chest, and, finding him still alive, he gave him what he

thought a finishing stroke. But the priest was saved by his breviary, which broke the blow; he was found by some peasants, got absolution from a priest who happened to be passing by, and then died. The murderer was detected by the blood on his shirt, but, by the influence of the Protestant ministers, he was let off with a light punishment. Our Fathers also cultivated the Catholics of the desert places and islands of Ireland, slept on straw, fared sparingly, and that on oaten cake, milk, and little fishes. The people were wretchedly poor, but most docile and anxious to be instructed, and their spiritual progress rewarded our Fathers for all the hardships of their mission.[1]

In 1619 Holywood wrote an account of the work done in that year by his subjects in various parts of Ireland and in Scotland. A transcript of it, made by Father John Morris, S.J., would cover about forty-eight pages of THE MONTH. He reports: "The persecution has somewhat relaxed, and so we can work more freely than before. In the southern and western parts we dwell in the cities and towns, where our principal friends are to be found, and where we can lie hid with more security; in the eastern and northern regions, where our harbourers are gentlemen or noblemen and heads of families, who live in suburban or country houses or castles, we have as much, and perhaps more opportunity, of doing good than in the towns. There are so few priests in the kingdom that one clergyman has often charge of four or five parishes. To help them, our Fathers go from

[1] Jouvancy's MS. Hist. at Munich, transcribed for me by Father John Morris.

village to village by day and night, according to the necessities of the faithful, hearing confessions, giving Communion, baptizing, attending the dying, preaching, teaching the catechism, and promoting the interests of peace. There is great rivalry among the gentry and others about securing one of our Fathers to abide at their houses, and they vie with each other in their appeals to me to get any Father whom they hear to have come home from the Continent; such is the universal esteem in which our men are held on account of their virtues and learning. Only two Fathers of the Dublin residence can preach in Irish, one of these I sent to Connaught during Lent, as we have only a few Fathers there; the other I sent to countries nearer home and where his mission was attended with great danger on account of the great power of the Protestants. He gave Communion to three hundred Catholics, and converted two heretics and seven or eight schismatics in the space of a week, but had to retire as his presence was felt and spoken of by the Protestants. Then he went to the southern part of the diocese of Dublin, possessed by a recent colony of English Protestant settlers, who forbid any priest to approach that region. The Catholics there were reduced to extreme penury under these cruel masters, and though most tenacious of the faith, they had not the consolations of religion when dying; and those who were courageous and strong had to go out by night, and come home the same night, when desirous of going to confession. When women were about to give birth to children, under pretence of going to relations or friends they went to a

neighbouring or distant district in order that the new-born babes might be baptized by a priest. In times past one of our Fathers managed to give them some spiritual help; this year, about the time of the feast of the Assumption, he remained with them a month hearing confessions, instructing them day and night. Crowds came to him, the sick were brought in carts, some not able to travel were carried on the shoulders of their neighbours, some remained four or five days in one place waiting for their turn to go to confession; seven hundred went to the sacraments, and twelve schismatics were reconciled to the Church."

The missions described by Holywood surpass anything I have seen or heard or read of the Irish missions of modern times, which, however, as regards the labours of the missioners and the number and fervour of the people, cannot be paralleled in Europe. But an account of these missions of 1619 would lead us too far away from the subject of this memoir. He had established, (1) the Dublin residence, (2) the East-Munster (or Ormond) residence, including our houses of Kilkenny, Waterford and Cashel, (3) the West-Munster residence, which includes our houses of Clonmel, Cork, and Limerick, (4) the Connaught residence. From these "residences" Fathers went forth to give missions in all directions, during which they began to hear confessions at dawn of day, gave Communion at mid-day, and often at three, four, and five o'clock. The Superior could only send four, oftener three, and sometimes two Fathers into a harvest that would require thirty or forty men; yet they worked so well, that

with God's help they ministered to the spiritual wants, not only of the crowds that gathered from far and near, but of all the sick and bedridden of the district to which they had been sent; they preached, taught the catechism, converted many Protestants. Often, as they went forth from one appointed mission to another, they were waylaid by the faithful, who kneeling down by the wayside, sometimes in torrents of rain, implored them to abide with them for a short time, or at least to get off their horses and hear their confessions on the spot. Of course Irish was the universal language in those days, and was even fifty years later spoken by the Jesuit natives of the county and city of Dublin.

"In Kilkenny a school was established in 1619, and flourished for thirty years afterwards. Two gentlemen who had been once the greatest friends fell out and, in spite of all attempts to reconcile them, had determined to settle the dispute by the sword and extinguish their hatred in each other's blood. One of our Fathers managed to bring them together to hear both sides of the quarrel, threw himself on the ground and kissed their feet, imploring them for the love of our Lord to forgive each other. When he rose from the ground they saw his face soiled with mud, and were so struck by his words and his act, that they both threw themselves down to try and kiss each other's feet, and asked pardon of each other. Cursing and swearing, which prevailed to an extraordinary degree in the Kilkenny district, was put down to a great extent, and those who were most remarkable for that bad habit, publicly condemned it and

promised amendment. A youth who attended our College, and was a ward of the King, was pressed by his Protestant guardians to go to church; he refused, and said, if they continued to molest him in the matter of religion, he would leave inheritance and friends and his country. A Waterford youth, placed in similar circumstances, displayed the same courage. Lancaster, the Protestant Bishop of Waterford, laid claim to the Castle of Ardfinane, on the Suir, and took a band of soldiers to besiege it. Resting at night in the deserted village, they took from an old chapel a very ancient wooden statue of the Blessed Virgin; they cut it to pieces and then sent for fire to burn the statue, but the house in which they were took fire, and with difficulty they escaped. Worse than that happened at the same time to Lancaster, for all his valuable furniture, books and vellum MSS. and documents relating to various churches were consumed by fire; Miler, Protestant Archbishop of Cashel, said the burning of the Codex called the *Black Book* was a greater loss to the Church than if all the Protestant Bishops of Munster were drowned, as it contained most important old documents relating to the Munster sees. Lancaster, hearing of the fire in his palace, abandoned the siege of Ardfinane and rendered his wretched soul in a few days after his return. A parson meant to bury his wife in the grave of a priest, but was prevented by the Catholics; whereupon he vented his indignation by publicly profaning the grave, got on the spot intolerable inward pains, and died three days after.

"The Cork Fathers gave a successful mission in

the far west of Munster, which they reached by most difficult ways, through robbers and Protestant foes, over bogs and mountains, often being without food or drink or a bed. They approached in disguise, converted, and prepared for death nearly all the forty-seven pirates captured on the southern coast, and among them a Moor and a Turk. They managed to get privately at night through the gates of Cork a beautiful and valuable statue of the Blessed Virgin, with the Child in her arms. It had been purchased in Portugal, and it took eight men to carry the case in which it was from the vessel, while the Protestants, who were set to guard it, were asleep.

"In Connaught some gentlemen gave great latitude to their servants, who in consequence took to gambling and drinking. These were reformed by a Jesuit missioner, who also converted many Protestants; Protestants (including the parsons) were on the best of terms with the Catholics.[1] One minister advised all the Catholics to have Mass in his parochial church, which had never been profaned by heretical worship; this he did in order to be able to depose before the judges that all came to his church. But sometimes the parsons persecuted the Catholics; one who did this in Roscommon dropped dead, and Captain Pony, who had supported him in annoying the faithful, died suddenly when coming from his funeral."

Acting under orders from Rome, Father Holywood sent Father Galwey, a Cork Jesuit, to visit and console or convert the Scotch islanders of

[1] In Connaught things were a little peculiar, even down to the nineteenth century.

Tesqua, Islay, Oronsay, Colonsay, Gigha, Cantire, Arran, and Cuin. "Tesqua is forty miles from Ireland, it contained only three Irish-Scottish families, and paid rent to the Puritan Laird of Callaton. Its only chapel had been burned by the Puritans in 1615. The priest and sailors were nearly dead with hunger and thirst when they landed. They were well received, got stirabout and fish for food, and milk and water to drink. Their host and his wife repudiated their errors and went to confession, the other two families were inclined to do the same, but were afraid of the Puritans. At Islay the Father reconciled forty of mature age to the Church, and said Mass for them, an act of religion which they had never witnessed before. After seven days there he found he had been denounced, and went with two companions to Oronsay, where there was a chapel of St. Columba, and thence to Colonsay; in both he reconciled forty people of mature age, who had never seen a priest before, and he said Mass for them. The commander of the place and his wife and children and some soldiers were converted, but this gentleman, fearing that the natives would suffer if Galwey remained, gave him a boat and some soldiers to protect him. In Jura he reconciled forty adults and baptized eight children. On the soldiers coming into the island he had to depart in a frail craft for Gigha, where the natives were amazed at his venturing in such a boat in such weather. The chief man of the place, being informed by him of the object of his visit, urged him to go away as a price was put there on the head of a priest; the Jesuit said he would risk

his head for the salvation of souls, and he was harboured hospitably for two days, and having got a promise from him to look better to his soul than he had done, he passed to Cantire. There he found the people better disposed, visited twenty villages, converted over a hundred from atheism and heresy, baptized sixty. Then, afraid of the fury of the Puritans, he with one companion, a youth of sixteen, went to the island of Arran, where in seven days he converted only a few, as the people are stubborn Calvinists. Thence he went to the island of Cuin, four miles off, reconciled to the Church all the natives, nineteen in number, and baptized six grown boys. In Cantire a minister, finding no one in his church but the sexton, got soldiers together, armed with swords, pikes, and long knives, and went to the place where Father Galwey was hearing confessions; but the latter had time to take shelter in a hut some way off. The converts were frightened at the furious threats of the minister; the priest comforted them by his words and by reminding them of the constancy of the Irish, of which they were well aware. On another occasion the Jesuit had to hide in a cave, exposed to wind and rain. He had many other hair-breadth escapes by day and night. The Irish-Scots of the isles told him that it was prophesied that a *servant of Patrick* would come from Rome to their help; and that some had a foreboding that he would arrive at that time." Such was Holywood's account of the Scotch mission.

While he was persecuted by the English as an Irish Jesuit, Irishmen gave an evil report of him to the King of Spain between the years 1616

and 1620. They say: "The anncient Irish ecclesiasticall are John Baptista, S.J., Rector in Lisbon; Cornelius de la Roch, S.J.; William Macrath, S.J., lecturer in the Seminary of Lisbon. Mixt Irish ecclesiastical are Father Robert Nugent, S.J., in Ireland, and Father Nicholas Nugent, S.J., his brother, prisoner in Dublin for the Catholic faith. *English-Irished ecclesiastical* are Thomas White, of the Societie, Rector of the Irish seminarie in Salamanca; Richard Conway, S.J., Rector of the Irish in Compostella; Christopher Hollywood, Superior of the Societie of Jesus in Ireland, who is pure Englished, and almost all those of this Order; yea, the very ancient Irish that enter into that same Order become almost all Englished, conforming themselves to their Superior, not only in their rules of religion, but also in their rules of policy and government and manner of life, procuring to conform themselves to the times, and to win the wills of the mighty." This Trinity College MSS. (p. iii. 8) is endorsed by Ussher, "Presented to the Counsell of Spain, circa an. 1618, by Florence (Conry, O.S.F.), the pretended Archbishop of Tuam, and thought to be penned by Philip O'Sullivan Beare."

In 1621 Holywood got promise of great help when St. John Berchmans was dying. In the afternoon before his death Father Nicholas Radkai, a Hungarian, entered with Father Alexander Rocca, an Irishman. As soon as the holy Brother perceived them, he cried out with vivacity, "Come, come, my very dear Brother Rocca, come that I may bid you good-bye, for it is probable that I shall depart to-morrow. Take good care to show

yourself always a true son of the Company, and to defend vigorously the Holy Roman Church against the heretics of your northern countries." "I am most anxious to do so," replied Roche, "but you on your side, my Brother, obtain for me from Heaven the virtues and qualities which are necessary for missionaries in those lands. And do not forget the vast wants of my poor country; you know them well enough." "Yes, yes," replied the sick religious, "we will remember all that in Heaven." At that moment the two doctors presented themselves, and they affirmed that Brother Berchmans was sinking rapidly.[1]

On the 12th of February, 1622, Holywood is said to be always in bad health, and sometimes unable to handle a pen. He dictates his letters to Father General on the 20th of January; he reports that he had residences, S.J., in all the provinces; and adds: "Your Paternity has every reason to thank God for the great success of the Irish Mission, S.J., the fragrance of which is the fragrance of a full field which the Lord hath blessed. People never cease admiring and extolling the charity and humility of our Fathers, who shrink from no labour or trouble for the salvation of souls, and who so live with the highest in the land that they attend to the lowliest. The Ulstermen are praised by Father Everard for their obedience and their desire to hear the Word of God. Father R. Nugent was in that province, and gave a running mission over sixty Irish miles; he has good hopes for the conversion of a Protestant who is one of the most illustrious in that country."

[1] *Life of St. John Berchmans.* By Father Vanderspeeten.

In February, 1623, William Crashawe writes to Dr. Ussher: "Yesterday was a gentleman that amazed me, but much *refreshed* me with a piece of news that the *Jesuits* were all banished from *Ireland* upon pain of death, and upon the like pain not to touch on any of His Majesty's dominions. Pray let me know the truth of it." This was too true, as their banishment was ordered by proclamation on the 24th of January, 1623.

On the 10th of January, 1624, Holywood, under the name of Thomas Laundeus, wrote a long Italian letter to Father General Vitelleschi. He had sent a Father to labour for three weeks in the farthest borders of Ireland;[1] he had begun to found a residence in the North; had employed two of the Fathers of Drogheda to write an answer to certain Protestant books lately published at Dublin. He says: "I have placed two Fathers in the Ulster residence; the gentleman with whom I was in treaty about this important matter wants me to send a third; but that number would attract notice, and might compromise this gentleman, whose house stands *in medio nationis pravæ*.[2] I told him it was enough to have two Fathers with their horses and boys, one to abide in his house, the other to call there occasionally for their mutual comfort in spirit. 'The spiritual harvest,' writes the Superior of that residence, 'is abundant and ripe in this region, and I congratulate your Reverence on the establishment of the Ulster Mission.' I hope God will help that poor province. Among those who desire to join our Society, there are four Ulster priests who have been educated in continental universities. Another

[1] In the extreme North, I think. [2] Of the Scotch Calvinists.

northerner is in the Novitiate of Naples, and three more in foreign parts desire to join us. I have already a house prepared to receive novices, and all I want is your Paternity's permission to open a Novitiate, which I have already asked on other occasions."

On the 6th March, 1624, he writes again, under the name of Thomas Laundeus, about the establishment of a Novitiate and other matters relating to the Irish Jesuits. He writes on the 22nd of February, 1625: "Father Raughter, S.J., is dead, aged seventy-four; in our opinion, he was a man of immaculate life. He had known me when I was studying philosophy in France, and though he felt called to the Society, he deemed himself unworthy to be admitted, and never asked till I became Superior in Ireland. As I knew his virtue and learning, I received him. Such was the opinion of his sanctity, that the chief citizens vied with each other and had a tussle for the happiness of carrying his remains to the grave."

On the 31st of March, 1624, Bishop Roth, of Kilkenny, writes to the General to say that fixed residences should be established for the Jesuit Fathers, and that, no matter how things turned out, the industry, piety, and erudition of these Fathers were absolutely necessary to Ireland.

Holywood was still Superior of the Irish Mission in 1626, as appears from the Catalogue of Irish Jesuits of that year; but he died on the 4th of September. According to Southwell,[1] Holywood governed the Irish Mission for twenty-three years with so much prudence, charity, zeal, and fortitude,

[1] *Bibliotheca Scriptorum, S.J.*, v. "Sacrobosco."

in most difficult and critical times while persecution was raging against the Catholics; and to his apostolic labours and religious prudence and foresight Father General Vitelleschi attributed whatever the Society had in Ireland in those times. He died full of years and merits in Ireland on the 4th of September, 1626. When he came to Ireland in 1603, he found only four Jesuits there; at his death there were forty-two Jesuits at home, and about sixty on the Continent; and they had residences at Dublin, Kilkenny, Waterford, Clonmel, Cashel, Cork, Limerick, Galway, and in Ulster.

A man of his great merit and services should at least have been mentioned, under the year 1626, in the History of the Society by Cordara, who had under his hand materials for a sketch of his life, as I have not the slightest doubt that there is a long biography of him in the Roman Archives, written by his most intimate friend and successor, Father Robert Nugent, and I am not without a hope that some day it will be unearthed and edited. The details I have given about him, and the extracts from his voluminous correspondence with his General in Rome, are taken from *Hibernia Ignatiana*, and from two volumes of original letters preserved in the Archives of the Irish Province, and from the Life of Henry FitzSimon, S.J. They show in a very vivid light the heroic constancy of the Irish people; and that to Father Holywood we owe, in some measure, the blessing that we cannot say of this country what Father John Morris so sadly writes about England: "The persistent pressure of one Act after another, . . .

all the penal statutes, in fact, where each seemed to do all that law could do—in these are the excuses, if excuses are possible, for numerous apostacies. Exterior conformity to escape penalties made England Protestant. All glory to the noble constancy of those who bore the pressure in spite of the example of their neighbours who yielded."[1] As the steady and even heroic constancy of the Irish under "a system of legal oppression avowedly contrived to grind them to atoms,"[2] was much due to his influence and action, so we may be permitted to add that English Catholics owe a debt of gratitude to the prisoner of the Gatehouse, the Tower, Wisbeach, and Framlingham Castle. For, their celebrated Bishop Milner says: "Thus much I can pronounce from my own observations, that the fate of us English Catholics depends on that of our brethren in Ireland. If their claims are overlooked, ours will never be thought worthy of notice. Whatever redress of grievances or legal privileges they obtain, we shall not long remain deprived of. Our political weight and importance, compared with theirs, is small indeed. In a word, they are the stately vessel which catches the breeze and stems the tide, we are the cock-boat which is towed in her wake."[3]

[1] Father Morris in *The Month*, December, 1891, p. 490.
[2] These are the words of Dr. Milner in his *Inquiry*, p. 4.
[3] *An Inquiry into certain vulgar opinions concerning the Catholic inhabitants of Ireland*, p. 5. By the Rev. J. Milner, D.D., F.S.A., &c. London, 1808.

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